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The Exploration of Urban Daily Life: Practising the Cultural Life Circuit in Urban Taiwan

Chen Pin Chu

Abstract

Contemporary Asian countries have pursued the goal of becoming new and more developed countries by undergoing mega-regional urban redevelopment. The process of spatial reconfiguration has destroyed many existing historical neighbourhoods, their local character and cultural identities. Furthermore, people's recognitions of spaces, daily life and local interactive networks that had operated for several decades have been interrupted by the changes to their physical living area.

This thesis aims to formulate new urban research and planning methods to analyse and practise within contemporary Asian urban (re)development. It applies participant observation, photo diaries and photo elicitation to integrate the perspectives of the government, planners and locals on the development of regional planning. It also discusses two perspectives of urban area formation, individual behaviours and the results of social interaction and their related theories, exploring their advantages and weakness for informing urban design. Furthermore, it discusses time-geography which represents the importance of time in urban development, and how peoples' choices and the paths they take during fixed periods form local life. It also, explores the concept of rhythm to complement certain weaknesses of time-geography and develops ideas based on theories of the Circuit of Culture, Cultural Landscape,

Lifescape and Cultural Life Circle to construct a new concept: the Cultural Life Circuit (CLC).

The Cultural Life Circuit draws together three approaches to understanding the urban cultural milieu. It acknowledges that the cultural landscape embeds activities in places and brings traditions and gives meaning to places. It draws from Life Circuit work which examines the weaving of activities across more than neighbourhoods. In the context of social change it combines those ideas with the Circuit of culture which looks at the interaction of the production and consumption of cultural forms and their iterative development, but largely without reference to concrete places. It adds to this an attention to rhythm to incorporate the temporal shifts in the way places are woven together, what they mean and how they are used. It thus forms a heuristic device to think through the spatially and temporally malleable weaving together of places that sustain the circulations of people and subtend their sense of urban life.

**The Exploration of Urban Daily Life: Practising the Cultural Life Circuit in
Urban Taiwan**

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Thesis submitted for PhD

Department of Geography

Durham University

2019

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Acknowledge

'Ever tried. Ever failed. No matter. Try again. Fail again. Fail better.' Samuel Beckett

This is the sentences my supervisor encouraged me one time in a meeting. The road of PhD is the road of keep trying, failing and fighting. He taught me that the spirit of life is never give up. The praise firstly should be for my supervisor, Professor Mike Crang.

The biggest thank should for my parents, they are always on my side without any doubt.

There are two peoples also important to accompany me to finish the doctorate degree. One is my dear friend Miss Wang Hsing-Hui who always stays with me and has been there for me for my whole life. The other one is Mr. Yang, Yo-Hsin who is my friend, my classmate also my housemate, we are the best war buddies. It is my honoured to meet him at the first day I arrived Durham. Undoubtedly, I want to thank Professor Wang, Ben-Chaung, without him, I won't be here. Thank to friends who support me in different ways when I were down, your kindness and love, I will always keep in mind. Thank to my interviewees and peoples who live in the Chung District, Taichung City, Taiwan. I want to conclude my acknowledge in one sentences 「因為需要感謝的人太多了，就感謝天吧。」 Chen Zhifan (The people that I have to express my gratitude to are so many, so just thank heaven.)

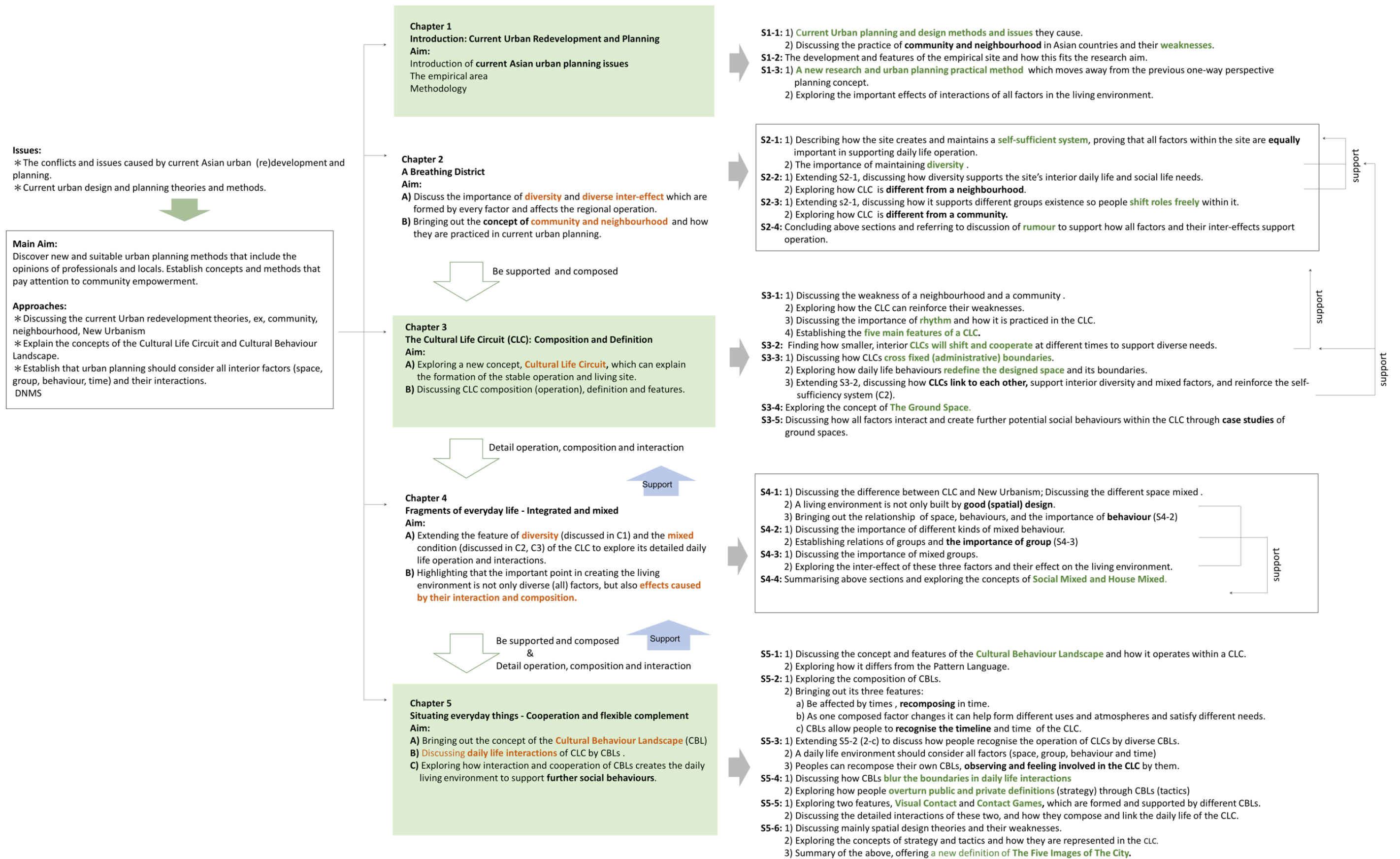


Figure 1. The research structure

Chapter 1 –The Current Urban Redevelopment and Planning

1.1 Introduction

Contemporary Asian countries are caught up in a rush of increasing economic and environmental development. They have, at varied rates and with different inflections, pursued the goal of becoming more convenient, new and organised countries with a concomitant increase in the quality of lived environments, often by pursuing mega-regional urban redevelopment. Some existing cities have been recast as ‘global cities’ or ‘world-class cities’ where the language betrays a spatial imaginary and internalises a set of competitive goals largely indicated in the built fabric, with extensive rezoning and the deployment of cultural events as occasions for ‘upgrading’ the urban fabric (e.g. Kong, Wu Marshall etc.). All too often the model has been one of creating what Rem Koolhaas (1995) bemoaned as the generic city, resulting from processes such as clean sweeping to displace, destroy and replace as though creating a tabula rasa (Koolhaas, 1995; Kong, 2007; Wu, 2003; Marshall, 2013).

Spatial reconfiguration and its often-dramatic pace and extent has destroyed many existing historical neighbourhoods and their local character and cultural identities. Furthermore, people’s recognitions of spaces, daily life and local interactive networks that had operated for decades or even centuries were interrupted. Local history would be erased, not even leaving ruins (Ren, 2014). Also, those new constructions that sought to renew whole regions had neither the time nor the social foundations to build new connections among local people and the everyday patterns of daily life. Eventually, such redevelopment weakened or destroyed the vitality, sense of local

trust, feelings of local belonging, and the rich texture of local features. These hasty constructions eliminated living spaces, interrupted daily behaviours, and resulted in disruption of specific local rhythms. The unsympathetic effects of Asian urban (re)development stem from how it often focuses on 'zonal' basic planning that works from (re)developing a whole (administrative) district but shows much less consideration for the perspectives of people who act or live within it and the effects of their diverse behaviours. This tendency has caused large-scale change of social networks built by different daily lives and groups overlapping within the same district.

Governments have noticed this issue in more recent years and started to focus on reconstructing affected areas, attempting to rebuild local culture and past social connections. Some of them reconstruct the same physical types and forms of spaces as those that were destroyed. This approach to urban (re)development believes the power of space can drive behaviours and feelings, so that by building and designing the spaces and forms they can recreate the behaviours and connections within it (Gehl, 2011[41]; H. Serag El Din et al., 2012[41]; Ohm and Sitkowski, 2004[116]).

An alternate approach has tried to redevelop from the bottom-up or from the views of locals, including ideas such as community empowerment (Wang et al., 2016).

Community empowerment encourages people to undertake common behaviours together to co-construct public spaces in their community. This enhances their connections and social networks through by daily interactions and behaviours undertaken together. However, they only form and support specific people (groups) at one point in time within a village or district. This attempts to enhance the social

network within the area, but is only workable in districts where most of the spaces and groups still exist, and people have not lost their major daily life connections. It also reflects the importance of temporal rhythm and how it forms the distinctive character of daily life in the region (see Chapter 4). Observing current cases and experiences shows that urban planning cannot completely repair or rebuild the original daily life and networks destroyed by redevelopment.

As shown above, development from the perspective of community such as community empowerment aims to form a good living environment by supporting the existence and interactions of specific groups. This lacks consideration of governmental and professional opinions that plan from a macro perspective.

Conversely, the physical reconstruction approach regards the formation of a good neighbourhood as based on spatial design. It states that the reconstruction of similar spaces can only rebuild the atmosphere of hard environments that are designed and limited by the unilateral perspectives of government or professional planners. This develops from the bottom, from the community, and can increase interactions within specific groups or districts, but its scale is limited and effective time periods are short.

Development from the top-down (government or professionals) to form the living environment by only taking into account physical spatial design lacks consideration of the effect of peoples, their behaviours and the needs of their daily lives. Therefore, the aim is to find the third way that can provide balance, as well as seeking out how an area can sustain development and operations and how internal interactions between people and social connections be encouraged.

To explore these issues, the methodology of the research uses participant observation (photo diary), photography and interviews. By using participant observation, during the process of involvement, I, the researcher changed perspectives from the outsider professional planner to the insider/local during different stages of observation, and the cooperative photo diary records this. This research used serial visual document records and analysed diagrams to discuss the operation of the living environment and to understand how and which multiple groups undertook different behaviours in serial spaces at different periods. This is different from current urban (re)development methods, in that it can capture the interactions of every element within the same environment and how different rhythms can be present in daily life. Because I lived within the empirical field and interacted with different groups, I was able to observe, explore and discuss from different perspectives, understanding the behaviours and spaces they were involved in. Furthermore, this permits knowledge and experience of situations, such as how different groups interact in daily life and build their trust and recognition of each other in the living environment.

Asian countries are facing serious issues caused by urban (re)development, including Taiwan. Taiwan developed both spatial reconstruction of regional development¹ that were held and planned by the government and professional planners and designers as well as programmes that were developed from the bottom-up involving locals and the communities. Its regional development concepts and methods are affected by Western countries and neighbouring countries such as Japan, and affect countries like China.

¹ 'Regional' in this research mostly means the development area, such as an administrative district or a community in Taiwan. It is not as large-scale as a whole city development, but still covers a wide area.

Hence, it is an appropriate research site that can represent and reflect the East Asian urban development environment and situation. Furthermore, the research chose the Chung District in Taichung City in Taiwan as the main site, which contains dynamic daily life and has experienced serial regional transformations and historical stages. This area experienced the effects of external forces and interior spatial and group changes, but still contains dynamic, stable and diverse daily life and interactions. Therefore, by observing daily behaviours and interactions within the Chung District, the research explores how an area maintains sustainable operation and endures dramatic change.

The research discusses features of the Chung District, such as how its self-sufficiency system satisfies diverse groups' daily life and social needs. Also, within the Chung District, the use of space usually exceeds the original design, allowing mixed multiple groups and behaviours such as mixed public and private spaces, expected and unexpected behaviours. It supports spaces within the area containing multiple extended behaviours and overturns its original definitions and boundaries. It also supports different groups to intersect and interact within different spaces and have further and multiple-level social connections. Within the Chung District, people can flexibly shift their roles to satisfy their needs and interact with different groups they meet in daily life. It will discuss how the component element² of the area and these interactions form the district, even though it faces external forces, and maintain stable interior connections and operation of the area.

² 'Element' in this research refers to different kinds of spaces, behaviours and groups: all the elements that act and interact within the site and compose the area and the cultural life circuit.

The research will discuss how the site can support the existence of its component elements by not only the forming of mixed spaces, but also mixing groups and behaviours. A typical urban model usually represents interactions of different groups and different functions. Commercial and residential spaces operate separately, where people do not have much chances to further interact with each other. However, within the Chung District there are diverse interactions of peoples within both commercial and residential spaces. Furthermore, diverse extended activities develop from those overlapping interactions between daily behaviours and economic activities, showing that the district provides the conditions that allow people to choose and shift their roles flexibly.

One of the research aims is to discuss the composition and operation of the site, to explore what and how all component element supports and form this living environment, rather than considering space alone. The thesis also discusses the concepts and theories of development from the perspective of individual or group interactions; neighbourhood or community; and how these notions play out in current urban (re)development. This research is also going to discuss the concept of the cultural life circuit, which can explain not only the features of the Chung District, but also how it reflects current Asian urban (re)development issues.

A cultural life circuit is composed of several basic units, and its composition changes depending on the needs of its component elements. Thus its boundary and shape will also be modified over time, showing that a cultural life circuit is not a fixed, but flexible and changeable. This will be explained in this research to explore how it

enhances the interactions and diversity of the circuit. Moreover, it increases the possibility of overlapping behaviours and further interactions in daily life between different groups (class, nationality, etc.).

The research will further discuss the composition and interactions of all elements, space, people and behaviours. It aims to reflect current Asian regional (re)development, which does not consider all relevant elements or the effect of their interactions. Within a cultural life circuit, all elements interact and none of them can exist independently. Daily behaviour defines the boundaries of spaces, as well as the different types, forms and functions spaces support. Accordingly, multiple groups affect the use of spaces and have different behaviours and interactions within them. This again shows that elements in a CLC do not exist independently, but intersect, interact and form under the influence of serial daily life behaviours. Thus, the cultural life circuit takes account of spatial planning and design, daily life, groups and how all of these elements combine to form a dynamic living environment.

The research also further discusses the concept of the cultural behaviour landscape (CBL) which is composed of different elements. Cultural behaviour landscapes shift and are recomposed over time. This increases the chance of further interactions and different groups (people) can recognise their daily life by different cultural behaviour landscapes and build their life landmarks and nodes, which are basic factors that link daily life together. By exploring different cultural behaviour landscapes, one can also see the detailed operation of a cultural life circuit. A CBL also includes important daily life points such as ground space, which plays an important role in supporting

social interactions, exchanges of information and the operations of the cultural life circuit. This space links and supports daily behaviours that happened between work and home. In addition, CBL is an essential point for every element to recognise the rhythm and time-point of the circuit, and also to observe and be involved in the circuit. They contain and support multiple visual and physical contacts and blur fixed boundaries by increasing social interaction. Moreover, extending from the concept of the cultural behaviour landscape, this research extends the concept of five images of the city and redefines them as images of the life that form and support daily operations and social activities within an area.

Within cultural behaviour landscapes, different groups and behaviours come into contact with each other. Within these contacts, the circuit forms mixed groups and behaviours, increasing the possibilities of interaction and accordingly increasing the possibility of people to learn about understand others within the same cultural life circuit. This shows that from the scale of the group to the scale of individual within different spaces, the cultural life circuit provides them with different ways to act and interact.

This thesis also discusses the current Asian urban (re)development situation and relevant theories and methods. It then explores related phenomena and features of the Chung District that cannot be completely explained by current theories and methods of urban planning and development. Chapter 2 will extend the discussion made in Chapter 1, opening a conversation about the aim of the research, which attempts to construct a new concept and method to analyse and explain the formation of the living

environment and how to further apply the concept in future urban planning. Hence, it needs to explore possible and appropriate research methodology. After discussing the research process, Chapter 3 presents detailed observation results from Chung District and explains features of the cultural life circuit, including self-sufficiency (section 3.1), daily and social life needs (section 3.2) and interior shifting of roles (section 3.3). It will also explore how these are formed and how they inter-relate to create different features within the cultural life circuit, and how this differs from notions of neighbourhood and community. Also, by analysing the process of finding a house to rent, it will consider the formation and construction of the living environment, the dynamic Chung District is composed of and supported by, and why it is important to consider the interactions of all elements in an area rather than just one (section 3.4). By describing the features of the district, the chapter leads on to a discussion of related theories that explore the formation of a diverse local culture and dynamic living environment.

Chapter 4 will then explore related theories of current Asian urban (re)development (section 4.1). Discussing theories and concepts of time-geography and rhythm (section 4.2), the chapter suggests that these can reinforce other theories in discussing and analysing the construction of urban life and environment. It then brings out the main concept of this research, the cultural life circuit (CLC) and discusses similar theories such as the circuit of culture, culture landscape and lifescape (section 4.3). Section 4.4. then discusses how the CLC is different from the community, neighbourhood and cultural life circle. Finally, the chapter explores the observation results of the Chung CLC (section 4.5).

Chapter 5 discusses the importance of considering both space and behaviours as well as how these interact in current Asian urban development, and how the resulting combinations might create different effects and conditions. The rules of operation for cultural life circuits will be considered, as well as their inclusion of several smaller cultural life circuits and how these might fade in and out at different times, cooperating with each other to support the diverse needs of the main cultural life circuit (section 5.1). It is argued that the formation of the living environment is not defined by any specific one element such as space, but by every element within it (section 5.2). Furthermore, this chapter indicates that the cultural life circuit is not fixed, but rather every element is inter-related so that there is no fixed boundary defined by specific element. Also, every significant small cultural life circuit contains at least one essential interaction space such as a convenience store, to enhance and strengthen the stable operation of the cultural life circuit. This is illustrated with case studies (section 5.3). Finally, Chapter 5 also reflects the fact that current Asian urban development is defined by fixed areas, zones or administrative districts, or by single and specific element such as space, and is therefore incomplete and unworkable.

Chapter 6 moves the discussion from the macro to the micro scale. Developing from the whole cultural life circuit scale to the everyday life scale, from the forming and operation of the circuits, it moves to the detailed interactions and intersections of every element in the CLC. It explores the details of different mixed conditions of elements within the cultural life circuit such as mixed and flexible spaces and mixed behaviours and groups (sections 6.1, 6.2 and 6.3). It indicates that to support stable operation of a living environment, urban (re)development should consider not only

mixed housing, but also a socially mix, as a cultural life circuit does. Development should consider all relevant elements of an area and how they interact, as well as exploring how mixed housing and social mixing might be supported to construct a dynamic, supportive and flexible living environment (section 6.4).

After discussing the micro conditions of the cultural life circuit, Chapter 7 will explore the composition of the cultural behaviour landscape that will combine at different times to support CLC operation (section 7.1). It will discuss their (CBL) features, diverse compositions, and cooperation (section 7.2), and how those different compositions allow people to recognise their life and the position of the circuit (section 7.3). It shows that within a living environment, everyone can form and recognise their own life flexibly, rather than accepting a common and fixed composition. It then discusses the overlap and interactions of cultural behaviour landscapes and how they blur administrative or geographical boundaries (section 7.4). In addition, the chapter will contemplate how detailed daily life interactions, visual contacts and physical interactions happen within different landscapes to increase social interaction and form the living environment (section 7.5). Finally, it will explore how the CLC might be developed using five new images of city life, considering it in terms of how it supports and satisfy people's needs (section 7.6).

This thesis discusses current Asian urban (re)development issues, theories and practical methods, using the new concepts of Cultural Life Circuit and Cultural Behaviour Landscape. It discusses daily life-scale effects, every interaction of all elements and their effects on the cultural life circuit to explore the operation and

formation of a sustainable region. It shows that the CLC is flexible and changeable and thus can maintain a stable operation and bear exterior forces. Different from a community and neighbourhood that is fixed and defined by specific groups or geographical area, the interior of a cultural life circle continually recomposes. It is precisely this flexibility that forms the renewable (continuous adjustment) and sustainable character of the cultural life circuit. In conclusion, this thesis attempts to create a new concept that can be practiced in current Asian urban development and planning.

1.2 Urban (re)development and Asian Cases

The concept of urban area (re)development comprises several transformation stages, from urban renewal, urban redevelopment, and urban regeneration to urban revitalization. Urban renewal aims to maintain the vitality of urban areas and promote the efficient use of urban land. It endeavours to improve the hardware construction and quality of living through the environment and so one of its main priorities is to demolish slums (Wager, 1954). In the 1980s, this became urban redevelopment, which focused on regional economic development, concentrating on increasing the connections of neighbouring (old) areas and improving transportation systems. After the 1990s, urban regeneration started to work on the organic activation of urban areas. It extended the purpose from (old) construction renewal to societal and economic revival. The time divisions here are shown by average and approximate time stages, wherein different areas (countries) have time-distance of developing different urban development purposes of different stages. For example, the United

Kingdom experienced urban redevelopment between the late 1970s and early 1990s, but in Taiwan this took place in the 1990s.

In the outset, the concept of urban redevelopment aimed to improve the quality of life for residents and environmental issues. Then, it started to consider aspects of regional economic and psychological improvement. After this, urban regeneration began to focus on the redevelopment of existing neighbourhoods and properties to explore and improve social relationships, by developing and designing the environment (space).

No matter the stage, the fundamental target of urban area redevelopment is to improve living quality, whether in terms of physical or psychological aspects. At this stage, professionals still regard urban issues and problems as related to spatial issues. It relocates people, demolishes and reconstructs structures, and modifies land-use via zone planning. Moreover, when undertaking urban development, governments also purchased domains for the purposes of construction for public purpose (Uchendu, 2012[141]; Glasco, 1989[44]). This shows that urban redevelopment of space involves not only the aspects discussed above, but also capital resource allocation and control of power and resources (Harvey, 2001[58]). It has been regarded as an economic engine and a reform mechanism, rather than a real improvement that serves and improves people's daily lives. Redevelopment changes the form of spaces and inevitably breaks up original social networks and connections, finally causing the demolition of neighbourhoods. For instance, the Pittsburgh area regeneration (1950s) in the United States did improve the area, but many neighbourhoods were destroyed, and 8m000 residents were displaced (Fitzpatrick, 2000[34]). Likewise, in the 1960s, the Rondout neighbourhood in Kingston, New York, was essentially destroyed by the

process of urban renewal, with more than 400 old buildings demolished, and this damaged neighbourhood connections (Lost Rondout: A Story of Urban Removal, 2016 [94]).

These methods of (re)development and the issues they cause can also be seen in Asian countries, where there are also several districts facing similar issues of urban (re)development. For instance, the Beijing Olympic Games requires a series of regional reconstruction projects in historical areas. However, it refreshed those old, messy and dangerous areas and buildings, bringing elites, investors and tourists to become involved in and move into these areas. On the other side, it broke original local connections and the area was no longer able to satisfy locals' needs and protect their legal rights (Shin, 2009[131]). This shows that the effect of redevelopment is not only on spaces or by spaces, but also those connections and daily life behaviours that take place in those spaces. Peter Hessler (2013 [64]) described the transformation of the Hutong area in Beijing, indicating that the essence of Hutong is not only in the architecture (buildings), but its spirit, formed by people who live and act there. The point is the complete and dynamic interaction between residents and the environment, and the fickle environment that forms resourcefulness and resilience in its inhabitants, who transform and adapt. However, when invasion becomes a large-scale destruction, such as dramatic spatial or group changes, locals become negative and unable to adapt. This also indicates that, within the living environment, if one or several elements are affected or missed, the environment and elements that exist within it still can maintain the operation because all elements inter-relate and inter-support. This reflects again the importance of considering all elements in forming and planning a

region, as well as the fact that every element is essential and hence urban (re)development cannot only rely on one specific element.

Following on from this, to ease the anxiety of being late in economic development and in pursuit of becoming a modern country, several Asian governments such as those of China, Korea, and Taiwan have strived to host international activities, like the Shanghai World Expo, the Taipei Deaf Olympics and the Taipei International Flora Expo. They do so to promote a series of spatial reconfigurations and urban area redevelopments. They removed old buildings regarded as unsightly and constructed modern buildings. Cultural and historical fabric was likely to be damaged or destroyed in the process, not to mention daily life and social connections within it. However, these constructions did not actually bring about progress, but destroyed recognised spaces, regional daily life and local interactive networks that had operated for decades or even hundreds of years (Zhang, 2006). Furthermore, new buildings lose connections of local daily life behaviour, and the original daily life no longer exists due to the massive demolition of the carrier spaces. Eventually, it weakens or even destroys the energy of daily life, trust and belonging, and regional character (Zhang, 2006; Phillips, 2005[119]). These hasty constructions eliminated regional living spaces and interrupted daily life, resulting in loss and desolation of local networks. In these countries, an atmosphere of dynamic living disappeared because of the loss of useful, varied street spaces in which the relevant behaviours could take place, such as street vending, children playing in front of houses, shopping, and walking.

Therefore, governments started to promote the preservation of historical buildings and to rebuild similar spaces aiming to renew the original behaviours of daily life and social connection. For instance, before the Olympic Games in 2008, the Chinese government removed a large historical area in the city and many old alleys and bystreets (Hutong) were destroyed. After the games, the government imitated exactly this type of old space and tried to recover the original atmosphere and form of daily life. Ironically, the remaining old buildings and spaces became a source of nostalgia, attracting tourists to visit and wealthy citizens from outside to squeeze poorer locals out of the property market (Zhang, 2006). Without the social interactions and daily behaviours, these areas become tourism attractions and sites of nostalgia trips. This case shows that simply rebuilding these types of spaces is not enough; it is too late, and the wrong way to make amends for damage.





Figure 2. Different living environments and groups creating different interactions within Beijing.

Upper: these two photos show the old streets located in front and near to Dazhalan (Beijing) where urban redevelopment was undertaken. The main street area became a tourist attraction. Most shop-owners and staff do not live in the area, as they did in the past: most of them were replaced by businessman, so that over the area becomes empty. This not only decreases the liveliness of the area, but also reduces the creation of social networks that form through diverse interactions of groups. Also, the groups that are active within the area become more homogenous, in this case mostly businessman. Therefore, the type of behaviour and interactions become less diverse.

Below: These two spaces are located just a couple of streets away from the main street (Dazhalan). They show totally different scenes and atmospheres from the top two images, just by turning a street corner. This area still maintains the original lifestyle and contains multiple groups such as residents, tourists, labourers, and shop-owners.

Therefore, even toward evening, there are still people going about their daily business on every street and alley, involving interactions between different groups.

Urban regeneration in Asia focuses on the renewal of old, dangerous, and culturally-isolated districts, and aims to encourage economic and political development (Kang, 2013[75]). It attempts to achieve these targets by re-dividing and designing districts, such as an area of community or *Li* (里) and spaces, but not from the aspect of how to preserve the life and connections within these areas. Specific characters of spaces are formed by different users in different periods (Lefebvre, 1991a[89]), and they do not only support social activities within the spaces, but are also completed by those interactions (de Certeau, Giard and Mayol, 1998[28]). Likewise, without interaction between activities and users, space loses its differentiability, significance and liveliness. This reflects the problem of current Asian urban regeneration and shows that one of reasons such projects fail: redevelopment should not only be done by rebuilding and preservation space (building), but should also consider the lives, activities, and interactions of groups within the region.

Furthermore, in Asia, the redevelopment of space that is usually practiced in the unit of the neighbourhood (*Li*, 里), an approach that neglects the fact that every individual has different needs and different daily lifestyles. Also, people who live in the same neighbourhood are indeed geographically related, but they might not have common recognition and identity of the region nor of the patterns of daily life. This reflects that when we discuss the spirit of place (Norberg-Schulz, 1980[113]), we should consider whose spirit it is. Therefore, even when governments rebuild spaces in a

region, they cannot reform or redesign those original interactivities and groups through administrative and fixed spaces alone. All these problems lead to serious conflicts between the government and local people when undertaking urban regeneration. The lack of understanding of local daily life culture leads to inaccurate or inappropriate decisions regarding the design of local space and the loss of daily interactions.

This issue can be also seen from several Asia Old Street (老街, Laokai) cases in historical towns. For example, in the case of Lijiang, Yunnan, China which became a World Cultural Heritage site in 1997, the population in Lijiang developed from 50,000 to 1.2 million, and the number of tourists increased from 17,000 to 5,000,000 per year. However, most of the local houses and shops were no longer operated by the local race, the Naxi, but by Han people. Although Naxi who still live in the village feel the increase of tourists in terms of income, and felt proud of their culture, which attracted the tourists, the disruption of daily life culture cannot be neglected. The Lijiang case combined elements of old Chinese scenes and Disney Land: the original life and people were replaced by new immigrants and life within the area became a replay or caricature of historical culture for the sake of commerce (Spence, 2014[139] ; Zhu, 2012). The cases discussed above represent different strategies of spatial design and planning in current Asian urban redevelopment. Also, this suggests that rebuilding spaces and redeveloping a region by spatial design alone does not create a suitable living environment.

There are similar cases in Taiwan, such as Jiufen Old Street. This is an old mining village where houses and shops were located along mountains. Because of the mining industry, there were several wine shops and tea rooms, which also provided sexual services and entertainment spaces. The village was home to specific local patterns of life pattern, daily life interactions and social connections. Now, it is full of snack bars, B&Bs, and souvenir shops operated for tourists who came for the sense of nostalgia, and have now replaced the old miner lifestyle, connections and families.



Figure 3. The case of Jiufen Old Street.

The original old house (left) is unusual in that locals still live in it. In fact, most of these houses are now occupied by businessman like the tearoom (right).



Figure 4. Village pattern of Jiufen.

Houses were located from the foot of the mountain to the top, reflecting the old lifestyle of miners, isolated from the city and leading a specific lifestyle with tight connections within the mountain village.



Figure 5. Changes in social groups within Juifen.

These cases that embrace the shell of the past and become commercial and tourism areas retain a sense of nostalgia without having any remaining authentic daily life and social interactions. They show that only rebuilding the types of spaces is not enough, and eventually only tourists will be attracted to such areas, which no longer have a meaningful connection to the original inhabitants or to the neighbouring areas.

Koolhaas discusses the transformation of Singapore, pointing out that all constructions in Singapore were authored and designed by the government. As he notes, '*Singapore represents a unique ecology of the contemporary*' (1995, p.1011[79]) He argues that during the reconstruction period, inhabitants were moved and cut off from their original relationships and put into an entirely new system. High-density, overcrowded buildings and streets were created. In such cases, the power of the government and planners (designers) is prominent and profoundly affects local daily life. This reflects how current Asian urban redevelopment is mainly under the control of government and professionals (top-down), and the most important factor is how they think about the power of space and undertake urban development via spatial design and planning.

In the case of Little India in Singapore, local lives and connections were affected during the governmental mega-regional redevelopment (Chang, 2016[20]). The composition of local life forms the specific culture of an area and provides opportunities to people (artists) who use their interactions with others to create their works. Also, those local atmospheres are attractive to tourists and increase economic income. Chang indicates that artists in Little India get inspiration from interactions

within neighbourhoods, which they regard as part of daily life, but immigrants and tourists who only show up on Sunday are excluded (2014[19]). This reflects how dynamic and interactive relationships were formed and modulated within integrated daily life. It also shows that areas that only contain or rebuild the shell of the past (spatial forms) can only attract tourism instead of building a real and stable daily life. Moreover, this case also points out the power and influence of different local groups that form the living environment, which cannot only be recreated by spatial construction alone and should not be neglected in the urban (re)development. These cases show that, in urban (re)development, all possible elements of daily life (behaviours), mega-spatial redevelopment (space), and interaction of groups can affect the region profoundly and should be considered to avoid causing irreversible damage.

The discussion above indicates that top-down spatial design and planning affects and changes people' life, and that changes in interior groups and behaviours also dramatically affect a region. Once regional behaviours were interrupted, the region became culturally alienated. Without support for daily behaviours, the original cultural space will gradually die and become a dangerous space (Jacobs, 2000[70]). When considering regional (re)development, one should think not only the hardware, buildings, spaces and landscapes, but also software, meaning the cultures and connections of daily life. This links to one of main issues of this research: when developing a regional (re)development, one should consider everything. These cases show that when urban (re)development is undertaken without considering all possible elements, large-scale redevelopment can affect a region profoundly.

The preservation and consolidation of spaces while maintaining the rhythms and liveliness of daily life must be further discussed in Asian urban (re)development. Insight could be gained into the relationship and interaction between various behaviours and spaces to give inhabitants the opportunity to observe and be involved in the living environment. The spirit, identifiability and character of places are related to the presentation of behaviours within them, formed between venues and people (Lefebvre, 1991a[88]; Norberg-Schulz, 1980[113]). This shows that regional character and living culture are a continuation of people, space and daily behaviours. Thus, it is essential to regard the interaction of spaces and behaviours as a single starting point for gaining an insight into the perception, feelings and sense of belonging they bring to the people. As the discussion above shows, current urban redevelopments can destroy or preserve regional historical spaces and buildings, and if they are destroyed the connection between spaces and people may also be disrupted or lost.

Hence, if we want to explore regional culture, we must discuss its daily life across different time and spaces. Furthermore, when discussing how spaces are used and how they affect regional life, one should consider behaviours, events, spaces and groups as a single entity and see how different compositions will affect life within it. Space links our lives and individuals' movements (activities); moreover, it is also a container of collective experiences and time. We evoke and organise our memories and feelings and we produce meanings and imagine in different places through a series of interactions (Walter, 1988) that provide us with a sense of trust and recognition (Middleton, Murie and Groves, 2005[109]). A place contains different meanings that are created by different individuals' behaviours, and through their

interactions the meaning of place will be enhanced (Yeoh and Kong, 1999[162]; Chase and Shaw, 1989[18]). Thus the current urban (re)development tendency to concentrate only on spatial design and planning is inadequate.

Most countries develop an urban area via spaces using multiple extended and related urban planning theories that discuss the different needs and aspects of an area, such as transportation systems, sanitary systems, population, density, economic issues and spatial design matters such as the form and scale of blocks. Some explored aesthetics and psychological issues, such as atmosphere, the representation of regional culture and architecture that can encourage different interactions and social relationships. Some theories were developed to reduce crime and increase the integration of various and classes and there are plenty of practical concepts developed from those theories to discuss how to construct and explore an urban area. Each has developed detailed design principles, like planning and design to take account of walkability, land-use, green coverage rate or block allocation. All point to one concept: that the results and effects of spatial planning and design will affect, control and predict people's behaviours.

Most current theories apply spatial planning or design to achieve urban (re)development and to create a well-operating social system. Some theories discuss this from the point of view of groups, but most focus on how space affects and forms group behaviours. Scholars such as Simmel, G. and Wirth, L. indicate that people, groups, the society they form and factors that were related to them such as mega-building, density and population are all potential issues that can affect the

development and feature of an urban area (Simmel, G., 1922[137], 1972[136]; Wirth, 1938[148]). As Simmel (1890) indicates, the development of individuality is affected by the tight connection and interaction of groups. He states that diverse groups cases high density, highly specialised etc. it in turn affect individuals' behaviours and the development of an area. However, these discussions consider all participants who live and act within the same area to affect its operation. In these cases, people represent one factor in the area, rather than discussing multiple overlapping interactions within and between different groups.

As mentioned, most urban development concepts consider space the main element that can control people and their behaviours within it. Moreover, they believe that a habitable and dynamic living environment can be formed and designed by space (Barnett, 2011[8]; Barton, 1985[10]; Grant, 2006[54]). However, fewer theories discuss how the composition and interaction of groups and daily life behaviours are also an important issue for consideration during development. Though some theories discuss the influence of people, they consider matters such as the effect of population and racial diversity. There are fewer discussions about the daily life scale behaviours of groups and their inter-related spaces. The profound effect of space cannot be ignored, but the effect of groups, their daily life behaviours and their interactions should also be considered in urban development.

Extending the discussion above about current Asian urban (re)development and planning situation and issues, this thesis highlights a significant point regarding the importance of professional planners and designers and their methods. Furthermore,

who decides the plan and the decision process requires further discussion. Current Asia urban development is normally based on the professional planners' research and experience. This information is usually in the form of report data and second-hand information collected from the sites. Some of these professionals visit sites to undertake research and planning. Most strategies and plans are based on data such as interviews, rather than on-site, long-term observation of daily life (Campbell, 2014[16]). Thus, these areas are designed on paper, instead of depending on the practical experiences and feelings of the residents (Lefebvre, 1991a)[89]). Most urban designs or plans are developed from databases and empirically-based (Benjamin, 2003; McQuire, 2008), lacking a connection with and understanding of the area and its people. In some cases, some programmes will hold public hearings and allow residents to provide their ideas. However, voices usually are just used as references. The final decisions are made by professional designers, planners, or policy-makers. Also, the public hearing only considers who lives within the site, not those who also have strong connections to the area or may later move there.

Some urban redevelopments are developed from residents' opinions. For instance, community empowerment in countries such as Japan, Taiwan and Korea encourage residents to build or rebuild their daily life environment via small-scale constructions. These activities fit together to form and enhance a dynamic atmosphere in the area. Moreover, they set up their own ways of operating in the community through those common behaviours. This kind of urban development is constructed out of the intuitive daily life experience decisions and discussions of locals, but lacks professional knowledge and macro consideration of the site. Urban (re)development

led by government and professionals or by locals are either end of a spectrum. The former lacks understanding of local life and interrelations within it, and the latter lacks professional support and macro considerations. Taiwan has faced many sizeable issues of urban regeneration in recent years. These cases and theories indicate that preserving and rebuilding regional culture considering space alone is not enough and may fail to meet the needs of residents, creating tension that could last many years. For instance, the WenlinYuan and YongChun cases are famous cases of urban redevelopment conflicts in Taiwan that not only caused a series of physical confrontations but also mental stress for all involved (Lu, 2014[101]; Zhong, 2012[165]).

Broken connections cannot be repaired by simply rebuilding or considering one perspective or group. The linking of old and new spaces might create an area that only serves visitors, for example. Over-eager regeneration breaks and weakens regional rhythms, relationships and the sense of trust. The question therefore is how to deal with broken connections of daily life and social interactions and preserve the key points in living spaces and behaviours. This should become the main issue in current urban development and policy promotion. How a region gradually forms its own character and meanings by interactions in spaces is also an important issue for discussion. Those features can be discussed by observing and analysing a region that has undergone long-term development and contains plentiful daily interactions between groups and spaces. Exploring the reasons a region that underwent several changes and exterior impacts and yet can still maintain stable daily life requires a

suitable study site, and hence the Chung District in Taichung City, Taiwan was chosen.

1.3 The Empirical Case

Taiwan is an island located in the north-west Pacific Ocean in East Asia. It is situated near Japan, China, and the Philippines and is an important international trading point in East Asia. Because of its position and historical background, its culture is affected by surrounding countries, especially China and Japan. The area of Taiwan is about 36,700 square meters (38th largest island in the world) and its population is approximately 23 million. There are five main ethnic groups in this island, which are the Aborigines³, Hoklo, Hakka, and Mainlanders who withdrew to Taiwan from China after the Kuomintang (KMT) relocated after World War Two, in addition to new inhabitants who married Taiwanese people (the total population of this latter groups is approximately 850,000) or live and work in the country as foreign workers (the total population of whom is 647,915 in 2017). Most foreign workers come from China, Thailand, the Philippines and Vietnam.

Taiwan has been serially colonised period by different countries, so that it integrates and contains different cultures, and each of whom brought their own types of urban planning, both Western and Eastern versions (Chung, 1996; Wang, 2007). As a result, it contains diverse urban planning traditions, the results of which are spread all over the country. This experience makes the country not only present diverse urban built

³ Here I mean indigenous peoples who lived in Taiwan before Han people migrated from China.

forms, also diverse styles of daily life that are affected by different urban planning.

This diversity and change in Taiwan makes it a good research site to observe effect of different urban planning.

There are five main cities in Taiwan: Taipei (the capital), Tainan, Kaohsiung, New Taipei City and Taichung, where the research empirical site of this thesis is located. Taichung is located on the middle of Taiwan, where southern and northern cultures converge, both differing in diet, major industry, and weather, all of which affect daily life behaviours profoundly. Due to the Taichung Port, it is also a node of international economic trade and it therefore attracts many foreign workers. Taichung city has been processing several urban redevelopments and new constructions in the past two decades, such as the Taichung Opera House, in the Seventh estate which is upmarket residential area, and Taiwan Tower. All areas around these main constructions have been completely redeveloped and re-designed. Old districts were removed into, and with them all the old neighbourhood connections. Taichung's combination of cultures and histories, its position being redeveloped away from a heavy industrial past means it can represent many features of Taiwan's multiple stages of urban planning, built forms and diverse cultures.

The Chung District that is the focus of this thesis is the first district that was formed by official urban planning in Taiwan. It is a roughly rectangular are of 880,300 square metres, whose longer side is around 1.4 km and its shorter around 0.7km. It is a transit centre of different transportation systems in the greater Taichung Area, so that it

contains and attracts different groups to work, study, and live. Hence, it integrated diverse groups and interweaved dynamic daily life behaviours and interactions.

The Chung District was planned during the Japanese colonial period making it the oldest district of Taichung. The Japanese government designed the Chung District referring to the Taichung City Districts Planning and Design Report (台中市街區劃設計報告書) by the British health engineering consultant W.K. Barton, and the Japanese civil engineer Hamano Yashiro in 1896. The design was also influenced by the urban pattern of Kyoto, Japan. After 120 years, it still contains historical buildings that were built in the Japanese colonial period, and still maintains almost the same streets, blocks, and shapes of the original design. It thus offers an example of an historic or legacy spatial pattern, now used by and sustaining daily life behaviours and uses different from the past. It represents how different people's daily life behaviours and interactions modify the use of spaces, and their relationships. Furthermore, the Chung District was the first planned urban district in Taiwan developed from scratch, unlike other big cities in Taiwan, such as Taipei and Kaohsiung, which grew following the patterns of the original villages or towns. It shows the ambition of the Japanese government in attempting to build a city that completely expressed their ideas and would reflect and enact their domination of the country. It also reflects how authority groups such urban designers and planners believe that spaces can affect and control people daily life profoundly and practiced this idea in action.

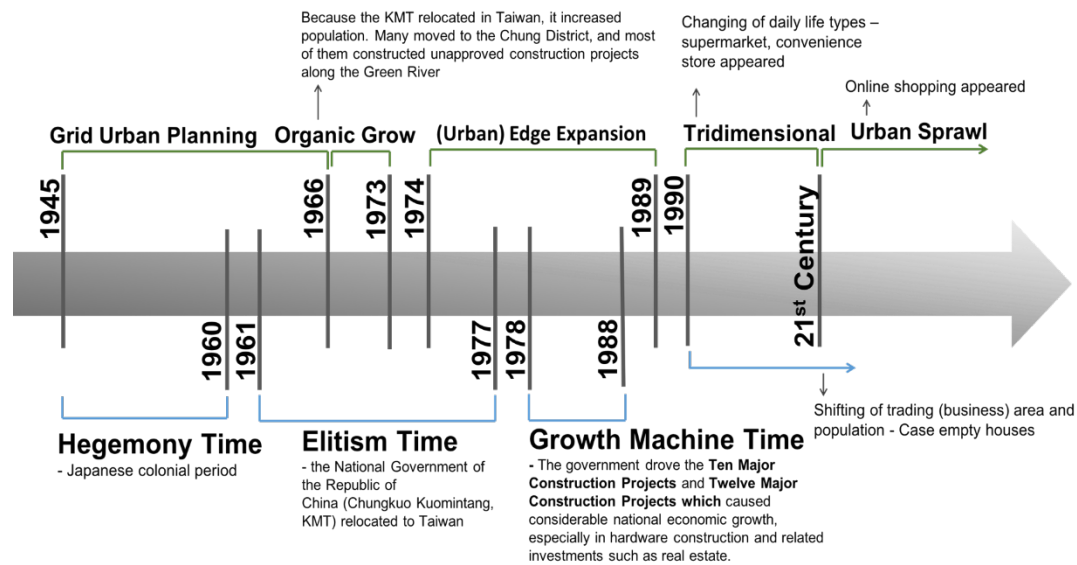


Figure 6. The historical events and urban development stages of the Chung District.

(The data are organised from Hsu (2015)[69], Kuo (2002) [81] and Tang (1996)

[134]/ The figure is drawn by the author)

Figure 6. shows that at the beginning of Japanese colonial period, the government worked on the urban planning from the ground to the whole district and considered it as a key development area. It designed a Grid city that satisfied colonial needs. It also constructed several governmental and economic spaces such as main Broadcasting Bureau and the City Hall. After the ending of Japanese colonial period, the KMT relocated to Taiwan, and the population, industry and lifestyles had changed during the period. The original grid city experienced a temporary organic growth stage. People who came from China started to live in the gaps in the planned city, such as empty houses and spaces of the Chung District, or in the unapproved construction along the Green River (Diao-Jiao-Wu, 綠川吊腳屋). During this period, the Chung District experienced the urban organic growth stage. Subsequently during the Korean War and Vietnam Wars, the US military were stationed in Taichung, and it

became one of the main entrances to the country. After 1960, the population increased, and the government started to plan the redevelopment zone, opening the gate to investment in real estate. It caused the development of high-rise buildings and mass development in the Chung District. Real estate and big commercial companies also squeezed into the area resulting in many high-rise buildings rising up along major roads, the exterior of residential blocks and surrounding the historical houses.

Between 1974 and 1985, the government drove the Ten Major Construction Projects and Twelve Major Construction Projects which advanced a series of national infrastructure projects and related real estate programmes. At approximately the same time, the economic balance shifted from Primary Industry to Secondary Industry.

After this stage, when the old area became over-saturated, the district could no longer support such large numbers of residents, and people started to move to nearby areas.

After the extension stage came the Grow Machine period, when the old area was over-saturated, the district started to expand from the edge to neighbouring areas to meet people's life needs. After 1990, the city's commercial zone and flows of capital moved out of the Chung District to neighbouring areas, such as the Northern and Western District, with the resulting urban sprawl. Moreover, this caused the decline and stagnation of the Chung District. Large-scale commercial companies, such as department stores, moved or closed indicating the Chung District was not as popular and prosperous as before. However, daily life and small-scale daily trading activities still continued within it.

The phenomena of decline and the departure of big commercial activities, such as big chain supermarkets, reflect that the daily life operation cannot support them, and people who live and act within the area, chose other types and scales of commercial activities. It represents that behaviours and groups within the area will choose and modify spaces and behaviours they need and use during daily life. Also, the change shows that following every historical stage, land-use and groups also transformed accordingly, and resulted in the transformed use of spaces and daily life behaviours. Furthermore, even the government and construction companies kept developing its neighbouring areas, such as main commercial areas and high-class residential areas. It forced people to move but it did not completely weaken the Chung District. This shows that even if government administration or transformation of social and industrial factors affect daily life profoundly, the Chung District still maintained the stability of daily life and diverse groups despite this.



Figure 7. Transportation systems in the Chung District.

Upper Left: The main train station of Taichung County located in the Chung District. The white building to the left of the train station is a long-distance bus station which links to exterior cities or countries. Upper Right: Cab drivers waiting for passengers on the roadside. Below: The main bus station that provides bus travel within the Chung District and to other districts of the Taichung City and County.

The history above shows that the Chung District had been the most popular and flourishing centre region in Taichung, especially during the Japanese colonial period (1895-1945) and the first two decades of the National Government of the Republic of China (Chungkuo Kuomintang, KMT) retreated to Taiwan (around 1949-1965). It has been through different stages of development and yet remains a vibrant district. The focus is on exploring the interactions of people, practices and spatial elements, and how they support the stable daily way of life when facing external and internal change. This research will discuss the daily life of the Chung district, its features and how it maintains a sustainable daily life operation system.

Even though the Chung District seems in decline now, it maintains many governmental and personal historical buildings, and plentiful dynamic and friendly small-scale spaces such as alleys and street. The district contains multiple hierarchical spaces. It also contains a number of five-foot ways⁴ and traditional markets that contain closely daily interactions. Those ‘small paths’ contain vendors, snack stands, stores, residential houses and so on, supporting the social networks of different groups. Because of its location and background, converging in the Chung District are a huge number of foreign labourers and businessmen, as well as residents who have lived in this region for several generations, and new immigrants who come from other cities or countries. Young people come to the Chung District to start their own

⁴ Five-foot-way, Qi-lou. Minnan immigrants in Singapore or Malaysia are used to process behaviours on the corridor which is outside the storefront and next to streets. The law requires that the corridor width usually be five feet. It is a traditional Asian (Taiwanese) spatial form which is an important element in supporting daily life and social networks. It is located in front of the house, of which the upper floor is in residential use. The ground floor is usually for commercial use, and owners prefer to extend their commercial activities to Qi-Lou. Hence, it has become the extended space of mixed use of commercial and family (personal) behaviours.

businesses. Old houses have been reconstructed by new young entrepreneurs. There is the famous Tuition Course Street⁵ which attracts a huge number of students from nearby cities to join the after-school classes in the district.

The Chung District contains diverse and hierarchical groups who act dynamic behaviours in this space. The aim of this research is to discuss interactivities in spaces and daily life between different groups (people) and how they create the specific living atmosphere. Therefore, finding a multilevel and diverse living environment to be the site is important. Within the Chung District, the original spatial layout of the area did not change dramatically. Instead, different daily life and groups within it keep changing and shaping the space. Therefore, it is a site that enables us to explore how the changes in daily life, such as consumer habits, social groups of inhabitants, and transportation, modify the use of spaces and form of the area. The composition in terms of population is dynamic and interwoven. We can thus explore the development and history of this district through locals, comparing the past to the present and seeing how spaces, behaviours, and interactions have transformed to create different feelings in the lived environment. Moreover, by observing people who come from different backgrounds, with different needs, involved in this area and interactions among different inhabitants, we can discern how different people (groups) act and use different spaces to different effects, thereby changing them, and the behaviours involved in them. All those observations can help the researcher to approach to the aim of the research that is to understand the forming and composition of a dynamic

⁵ In Taiwan, because of the trend of Credentialism, many students go to cramming schools to reinforce their study after school.

environment and its specific culture. Hence, the next chapter will discuss the methodology and explore how different research methods be practiced in the research process to achieve to the goal.

Chapter 2 – Methodology

2.1 Research Design

As has been shown, contemporary Asian countries are caught up in a rush of increasing economic and environmental development to increase the quality of lived environments through mega-regional urban redevelopment. Huge interruptions to local networks are often caused by dramatic construction, displacement, destruction and reconstruction. Noticing these issues, governments attempted to process reconstruction (repairs) of those affected regions (space) to rebuild connections and the previous dynamic living environment. They believe in the power of space and how it can trigger the formation of internal networks and interactions in an area. Some government and planners tried to undertake development from the bottom-up, involving locals through means such as community empowerment programmes, to enhance the local life culture and connections of peoples. However, this is workable in areas where most spaces and groups still exist, and the affected area is not huge. Empowerment programmes are most suited to situations in which small-scale changes are taking place one at a time.

As discussed in section 1.3, Taiwan's location, inter-relationship with neighbouring countries and history of being colonised by different countries have resulted in a diverse culture (groups and behaviours). The formation of district has been influenced by different urban planning notions. Therefore, within the Chung District, the researcher can observe diverse daily life interactions undertaken within spaces that

were designed by professionals and see how the use and form of those spaces is modified by different groups within daily life.

By researching the site, this research aims to find a third way: a new and practical way to combine the benefit of both bottom-up and top-down development perspectives. Moreover, it seeks methods by which the region can maintain its stable and sustainable social and daily life and support dynamic interactions of different elements in the face of redevelopment, of those mega-construction. In a word, this research focuses on exploring hierarchical daily life and the results of different elements interacting in serial spaces to find out how this region forms its specific culture, and how all elements of the area connect freely to support diverse needs and co-form the system. The Chung District contains diverse groups and they create different use of spaces via multiple interactions (behaviours). It also shows how the effect of daily life behaviours and the interaction of elements can form the local culture of an area. Hence, it is a suitable site in which to pursue the research aims and support the exploration of research questions.

This research can be divided into four main research questions.

- 1) What are the diverse interact foundational elements within the empirical site?
- 2) How and what kinds of different elements interact within daily life within the site?
- 3) How can daily life and social life needs and networks be supported and formed by different elements' interactions and compositions within the site?
- 4) How do individuals use these compositions to construct and redefine the CLC at any time?

To achieve the research aim, the research applies participant observation (photo diaries), photography and interviews to the research process. Participant observation and photography can assist the researcher to observe daily social interactions on the site. Following these observations, I can explore and understand the interactions and connections of different elements. Moreover, to transform the perspective of observing from the outside, the researcher is also a participant and user of this region. All observations will be recorded via photographs and a photo diary so the data can be analysed and be examined. On this process, it can also find out how those elements and their composition support different groups' daily life and social needs also support them to build the network. The research uses visual records as the primary method because it is the most efficient and straightforward way to observe and record daily life, including the knowledge and activities of diverse groups' interactions and how they satisfy their needs and interact with different groups.

This research also uses photo elicitation and interviews, using these data gathered from different groups. To confirm how people involve in the site feel those observed results, those compositions of different elements of the area. Also, to analyse the features of elements to know how them construct the environment. Then, the research divided the observed photos and records into six groups and interviewed people who live or work within the site, analysing their answers for ideas about what people regard as part of their daily life and how they feel about this. Finally, to organise these results the research created diagrams that represent and analyse the data, showing what structures support peoples' lives, forming the specific living environment and atmosphere that allow different groups to feel involved in their environment.

In conclusion, the research aims to understand how daily life is constructed and supported by, diverse elements that form the living environment. Observation, walking, photography and interviews are the main methods used to explore these ideas. The following section will discuss the reasons for choosing these methods and how they will be used.

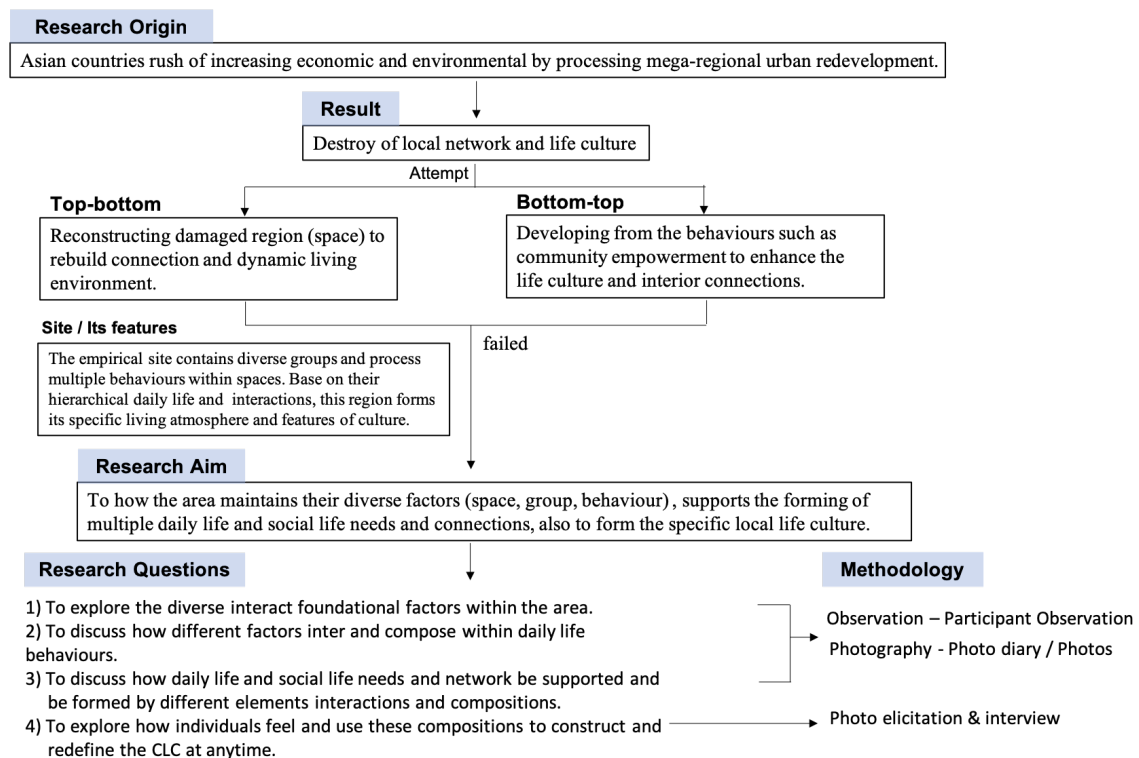


Figure 8. Research design

This figure shows the research aims and questions, as well as how the methodology contributes to achieving these goals.

2.2 Methods used and rationale

After clarifying the research aims and questions, this section follows on from the discussion above about the current Asian urban (re)development and planning

situation, and how this research aims to respond to this issue by finding a practical way to plan Asian cities. It will explore how the research uses different methods to approach and understand the operation and composition of the site. It will discuss the use of each method and case study selection and their rationale, as well as how they are implemented in the research.

As the above indicates, current urban development, methods and decisions are usually controlled by professional planners based on second-hand data collection, knowledge and experience. By contrast, some projects are developed with consideration of residents' opinions. For instance, in some Asian countries such as Japan and Taiwan, community empowerment encourages residents to build or rebuild their daily environment through small-scale construction and communal activities. This shows the process of urban development is not only based on professional decisions or the intuitive discussion of locals. Hence, this research attempts to combine both local and professional opinions to find a balance.

To understand an urban area, the planners and designers should become involved in and observe repeatedly daily life, instead of relying on paperwork and theory (Lefebvre, 1996[90]). Therefore, the research will explore and discuss the operation and composition of an urban area from both professional and local perspectives.

Accordingly, the methodology will follow shifting situations and viewpoints to discuss different methods of operation, composition and interaction. Starting from the perspective of an outsider, to take the view of both a professional and a new immigrant, the research records the processes of daily life to see how and where

people are interacting in the living environment. Moreover, it aims to discover the moods and the modification of these involved in the process, to record changes in observed objects that reflect the changing identity and position of a new person in the area. The researcher saw and sensed from the perspective of a professional and an outsider at first, and then following the process of the research, became involved in the living environment, I changed my perspective and gradually started to see it as a local might. Finally, the thesis uses those data to examine and analyse the composition of daily life from both the views of the professional and the local, of an outsider and inside, to collect, observe, sense and analyse from both sides.

2.2.1 Observation

The following section will discuss how the research applies different methods to achieve its objectives. The way to approach an area is to observe first and then try to become involved in real interactions. By observing and being involved in daily life, people can learn about the operation of their living environment. In ethnographic work, observation of life and environment involves close observation and participation in everyday life and the study of individuals' interpretations.

Furthermore, the thesis should also analyse what anthropologists have observed (Shurmer, 2002[118]). Participant observation aims to understand the everyday life of other people from their own perspective. It attends to different voices and tries to use their knowledge to discover how theories are transferred into practice in everyday life (Shurmer, 2002[118]). Moreover, it is a way to allow the researcher to understand the environment people live in and the people they interact with. Using participant

observation allows researchers to share not only a lifestyle but also locals' identity, and to increase researchers' objectivity in observation because of the intimacy of such work (Shurmer, 2002[118]). The researcher can observe at first-hand, contact and interact with people within the environment so that s/he can experience real and diverse aspects of the environment. The (participant) observation becomes valid when the participant is also part of the behaviour, so that they can reflect the characteristics of the reporter as well as the participant (Yoder and Symons, 2010[163]; Shurmer, 2002[118]). This reflects the idea that, before urban planning, is necessary to observe and explore an area and daily life within it, as well as the aim of this research, which suggests that when planning a city, planners should consider and become involved in daily life.

Exploring everyday life and everyday culture is the main research aim of contemporary human geography (Latham, 2003[85]). People approach the world we live in in different ways such as touring, walking, shopping or jogging, attempting to know how it operates and builds the networks in an area. This reminds us that landscapes are not only observed or read but also practiced: they carry our dynamic daily life and ceaseless production of history (Crouch and Parker, 2003[26]; Anton, Garrett, Hess, Miles and Moreau, 2013[2]). Also, this reflects again the point of participant observation, that to know the living environment one should be involved in and live in it. Individuals might create their own meaning within a landscape, but it is complete when all are put together by communication between groups (people) (Shurmer, 2002[118]). This indicates that knowing the operation of an area should involve considering all elements and how they interact, link and inter-relate to each

other. Furthermore, time-geographers believe that researching the time-space structure of individuals allows us to decode and understand how societies are constructed and reproduced by themselves (Latham, 2003[85]). Thus, as a human geographer, the researcher should not just observe at a distance, but should be involved in their research region, and close to the people they observe: '*We cannot observe the world without being present in it*' (Lomax and Casey, 1998[93]). This shows that one can know the operations of daily life behaviour through real participation in and observation of daily life behaviour in spaces, and thus this research chooses these methods.

'Whatever you are doing, as a scientist or anything else, you always start out from problems of everyday life' (Gardiner, 2000; Lukács, 1971[98]). Even historians need to examine and explore their research and opinions in daily life (Lefebvre, 1991b[88]). In behaviour geography, understanding patterns of behaviour in spaces is important, and these cannot be understood without knowing how individuals imagine the world and their living environment and make decisions based on these images. People develop mental impressions of the world through daily life and interactions with the environment and develop images that they can recognise (Pile, 1996[122]). As Henri Lefebvre indicates, '*the lived is the present, living is presence. The lived is also the work – be it alive or dead – created by living*' (Lefebvre, 2008[91]). Thus the lived and the everyday do not coincide, and living will not lie outside of daily life. Daily life is a series of behaviours intersecting and integrating in spaces. Therefore, when exploring the formation and operation of the living environment, it is better to observe a longer period of time rather than a particular time point or particular event,

to analyse and explore dynamic and continuous interactions. For this reason, the researcher chose to move to the research area and live there for almost six months (discussed in greater depth later on).

The landscape we are involved in every day is not just formed by single behaviours or groups, but constructed by dynamic daily life and ceaseless production of the past (Crouch and Parker, 2003[26]; Anton., Garrett, Hess, Miles and Moreau, 2013[2]). Participant observation aims to understand the everyday lives of other people from their perspective (Shurmer, 2002[118]). It is a suitable method to discuss interactions of space and daily life behaviours. To integrate into daily life and explore the fabric of a research area to know its daily life structure, the researcher moved into the research field, learning how and where to interact with neighbours and integrate into the daily life of a neighbourhood, building connections and trust, and how different elements interact within the space.

Observation analysis is also a kind of self-reporting and self-reflection (Lomax and Casey, 1998[93]). When we try to understand and integrate into the real world, we interact and communicate in different kind of spaces. Therefore, following the process of participants in the field, the researcher can accrue feelings about specific spaces and behaviours, setting up their own daily life landscape. Meanwhile, when the researcher integrates into the living environment gradually, they recognise places that might become more or less significant. To address the goals of the research, the researcher should discuss and be involved in the rhythm of daily life and spaces to know how they operate, to discover the diverse interactions and foundational

elements within the empirical site over time. Overall, participant observation is an appropriate method in this research to record shifts in feelings and identities of the researcher and for the reference of comparison of before and after being involved in the region.

2.2.2. Photo Diary

Photographic analysis is used in anthropology, human geography and cultural geography. It is a way for researchers to understand the importance of relations between places and people (Markwell, 2000[106]). Photography is a good medium that allows a researcher to become embedded in the research region (Garrett, Hawkins, 2014). By taking photos, people are constructing their own vision of truth (Pink, 2001[123]). People can record the flow of crowds, encounters and unexpected events, and record events that might be neglected, allowing researchers to return and discover things that were not obvious in the moment (Anton, Garrett, Hess, Mile and Moreau, 2013[2]; Garrett and Hawkins, 2014). Visual media can provide more accurate and detailed records than human observation, capturing comprehensive and complex human interactions (Lomax and Casey, 1998[93]). Images can represent visual and somatic rhythms; they do not need extra explanation, but can speak for themselves (Garrett and Hawkins, 2014). Therefore, rather than discuss what a camera can record, we should ask what we see and what should we photograph. Hence, in the research process, the researcher took photos of every space containing daily life interactions and recorded them in the diary as the reference for me to reflect

upon. This method can assist observation, recording the results and experiences of involvement.

Moreover, photography can be replayed and analysed even when the researcher has left the field (Gottdiener, 1985[50]; Grimshaw, 1992[53]; Arborelius and Timpka, 1990[1]; Lundevall et al., 1994[100]; Lomax and Casey, 1998[93]). When we try to understand and integrate into the real world, we interact and communicate in different kinds of spaces. Therefore, as part of the process of integrating into the region, I took photos and wrote a photo diary to record all those interactions (events), places and people within the area and daily life, and how they developed over time. Observation analysis is a kind of self-reporting and self-reflection (Lomax and Casey, 1998[93]), and therefore a photo diary can provide a way to observe and find details that might be neglected in the moment. Harper indicates that photographs portray the social, such as family or one's own body (Harper, 2002). Photographs profoundly reveal how we observe and are involved in the world (Markwell, 2000[106]), including how and where we interact with other people. It shows all meanings of our social activities and codes. Also, it represents different performances of identities, which can be expressed in diary form. (Lomax and Casey, 1998[93]) Hence, the research uses photographs associated with the diary. The combination not only recorded the involvement process and the participant observation result, but also explored the research region. Also, it is not only the record of the research process, but also a reflection of participants' feelings and perspectives on the region and daily life.

2.2.3 Photo elicitation and Interview

Place is dynamic, changing and constitutes multiple identities, which means that every individual has their own memory, feeling and identity in relation to each place. The use of a visual medium can represent, reflect and constitute the identity in our lives of the behaviours and spaces we are involved in (Pink, 2001[123]). Photos should break the frame of the normal views of the field and lead to a reflective stance. Therefore, the record and observation by photos should assist reflection on the feeling of the moment in which they were taken and what meaning they attempted to capture (Dodman, 2003; Markwell, 2000[106]; Brickell, 2011[14]). Within the research, it is also the way the researcher records being involved in the environment and the shift of the roles of the researcher and the people with which the research interacts. It is a way to see the interactions of groups and behaviours and examine how they choose and organise those interactions within the area.

Furthermore, the concept of photo feedback, photo-elicitation, that applies to this research is also an important method for studying the relationship of behaviours, groups and spaces (Harper, 2002[60]). Also, it is a good way to set up a reflective stance from different views. After the processing of participant observations and taking a photo diary, different photos were compared, and the researcher commented on the development of how interactions within different spaces transformed to follow the interactions of groups. Furthermore, its characteristic reflexivity can echo the concept of participant observation, in that the researcher cannot live beyond the field and cannot keep a distance from the people who live in it, but should be involved in it (Pink, 2001[123]). Also, in the process of taking photos, the researcher can integrate

into the field, explore new experiences and interact with others (Moore, Croxford and Adams, 2008[111]).

Photo elicitation provides a way to allow different people to express their own ideas of contents of photos, and to extend different opinions and stories (Harper, 2002[60]). It can provide embodied reflexivity, and it allows a researcher to rethink images (photographs) (Lomax and Casey, 1998[93]). The research used photos and recorded the stage of participant observation to process photo elicitation and to interview people who are involved in and live in the area. Also, it organised residents to choose from those photos so that they feel represented in the atmosphere of their daily life. Moreover, the aim was to interview and explore more stories, to extend different opinions drawn from those photos. In the process of choosing and reorganising their daily life by photos, participants can explain and clarify their feelings of space and behaviour based on photos that record and represent their daily activities as visible images (Moore and Croxford, 2008[111]).

Furthermore, photo elicitation could be processed with interviews to shape, stimulate and recall memories (Harper, 2002). Interviews are useful to deal with public figures, and tap into self-conscious practice, knowledge and beliefs. Also, it is a way to reveal participants' stories, experiences and observations (Yoder and Symons, 2010[163]; Brickell, 2011[14]). Based on this, participants (interviewees) can recognise and reorganise their daily life such as paths they take, spaces in which they interact with others and so on. It is a conscious process of reflection and recollection of their behaviours and places they are involved in. It also allows them to doublecheck that

the researcher has understood what was observed and examine the interview results.

Discussion and extension in the process of photo elicitation and interview is a way to co-create a common view of the area between the researcher and participants (Harper, 2002[60]), discovering daily life and exploring what creates a sense of belonging to and recognition of a region

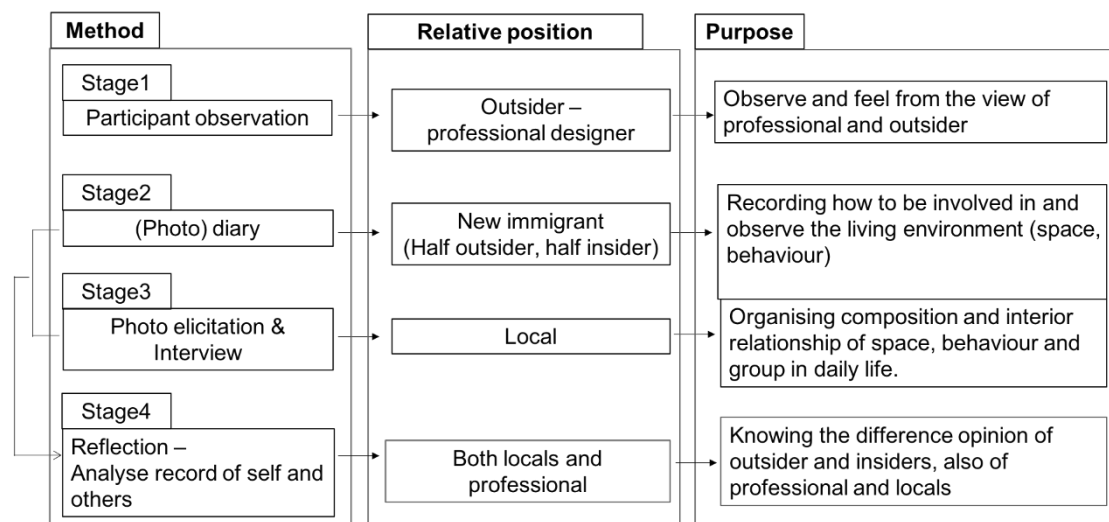


Figure 9 Methods used in the research.

The figure shows the relation of research methods and research purposes.

2.3 Research Process

The following part will discuss the methods used and how they were implemented, as well as details such as sampling strategy, sample size etc. This research used three main research methods: participant observation, a photo diary and photo elicitation.

Firstly, the research took participant observations and a photo diary to record the process of integration into the research field and interactions with people. Participant observation can record both the researcher's perspective as an outsider and the new immigrants' and inhabitants' perspectives on the research field. Moreover, it is a way

to observe and discuss the process of how the researcher is involved in the field site, and how I transformed my own position from an outsider to an insider in the area by interacting in different spaces with different groups during daily life. Meanwhile, the photo diary assisted in recording the mood and position shifts in observation process. It recorded photos of places that contain interactions and specific atmospheres, and recorded details such as how, when, who and the feelings surrounding those activities. After this stage, I organised photos and records (the diary) as a reference to draw maps of the research field, which represents various spaces that contain different interactions of groups in different periods. Furthermore, they became data that were used to analyse the composition of space, behaviours and groups: the cultural behaviour landscapes.

Then, I chose main observation points and started close observation of individual spaces. This recorded detailed activities in those spaces over time, such as how people interacted, when and how long activities were undertaken, and so on. Moreover, I took photos of different behaviours happening in spaces in the same period. Meanwhile, the photo diary recorded the mood and processes of how I integrated in the research field, exploring the transformation of identities, where I could have more opportunity to interact with local inhabitants.

Those data⁶ were used as tools to represent how these spaces are occupied, used and formed by multiple groups and behaviours. It can show the rhythm of the area and all

⁶ Because all photos were about behaviour within public spaces, I did not have to be convert. According to the laws of Taiwan, peoples can take any photos in public spaces. It is only if the photographer uses those photos to create commodities to sell or sells the photographs directly that a person who has been photographed can ask the photographer to withdraw their photo or pay a fee to

those main observation points' details, such as its time dimension, behaviours, users and, most importantly, how they interact and build networks. Also, it recorded subjective opinions and recorded visual observation points of daily life behaviours and interactivities in spaces. The elicitation collected objective perspectives of inhabitants, allowing different groups to present their feelings about the composition of spaces, behaviours and groups.

Furthermore, I used photos taken at earlier stages as data that interviewees (photo elicitation) chose, using photos to indicate their daily life path and activities. This was done to explore daily life interactions from the perspective of different groups. In the process of choosing photos, I encouraged participants to recall memories, and discussed whether those behaviours also happened in other spaces, in the past or present, and how they feel about and integrate them into daily life through behaviours within those spaces. Photos stimulated their memory and feelings to explore the transformation of behaviours and spaces at different times. This aimed to lead participants to think about and reflect on their unconsciousness and habitual daily life by reflecting and discussing those photos. Moreover, I analysed and organised photo elicitation and interview results to analyse the types and composition of the spaces, groups and behaviours presented in those photos participants (interviewees) chose.

buy portrait rights. Furthermore, if the photographer uses or retouches photographs to damage the person's image, reputation, personality etc., this would involve civil laws. The same applies to photos of shops which are taken from public spaces. In addition, those photos taken inside shops are permitted with permission from the shop owners. To be more careful, the researcher has blurred the faces of people and children photographed indoors.

After exploring the use and choice of methods, the following part will discuss how they were implemented in the research to explore the site. As discussed above, the aim of the research is to confirm that urban regeneration should consider both space and life, behaviour and people. Therefore, exploring how those elements interact and create the living environment is a key issue. Daily life is composed of serial movements, and therefore, observing daily life can help us to know how and what kind of composition of people and their behaviours can create and enhance the vitality of the living environment. Photo elicitation helps to explore what compositions of daily life behaviour and space will form liveliness in daily life and create a sense of belonging. This helps define what should be preserved in urban (re)development.

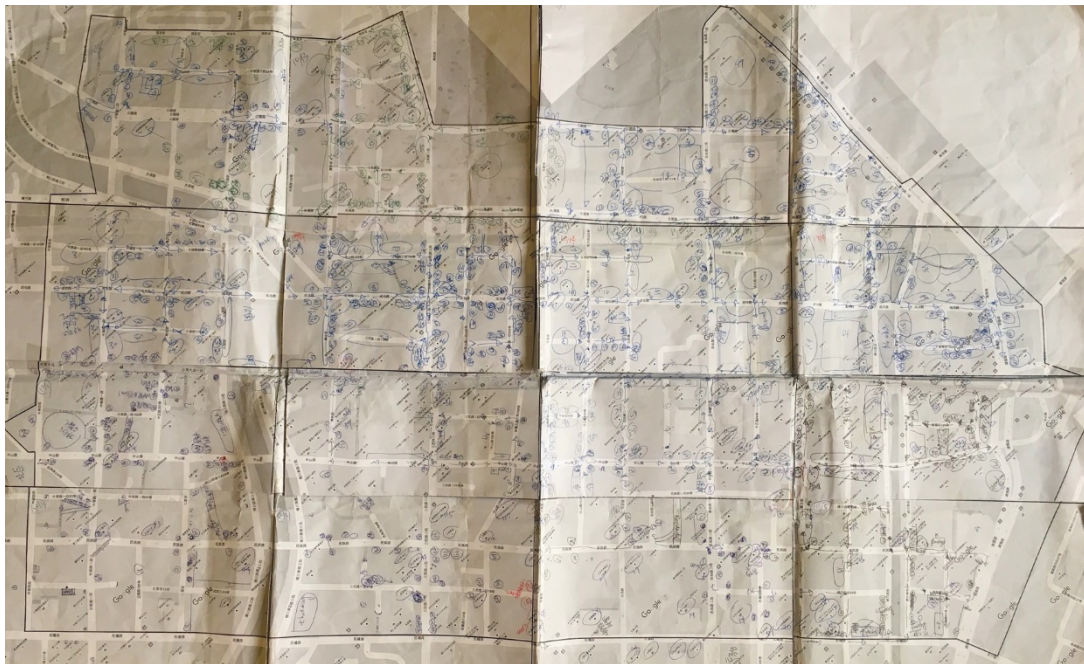


Figure 10. Observation record map.

The observation map contains all Chung District paths and is divided into 16 zones. In the process of observing, activities and groups are all recorded by corresponding numbers on the map and notes.

The research took about one-and-a-half months in the first stage to observe the whole area. The whole district was divided into sixteen zones and observed and recorded (in the forms of diary and photographs) by walking through every alley, street and road. Every zone was covered during three different time periods: morning, afternoon and night. During this stage, I focused on recording behaviours (interactions) and groups within different spaces. After this, I started focused observation, which chose spaces that contained dynamic, specific or special behaviours or interactions within it, which were observed in the last stage. I took records and photographs of those spaces and the groups acting within them. Also, there are some noticeable spaces that contain significant and dynamic social interactions of different groups, so I made closer observation of these. They were two chain convenience stores and one traditional breakfast store. The convenience stores were observed all day long (from 7:00am to 12:00 midnight and the breakfast store was observed during its opening hours (from 6:00am to 11:30am). During these observations, I sat in the store and acted like a normal customer, read, ate, drank or interacted with other customers, observing behaviour and interactions.

After the end of the observation stage, I started to organise and record data in the photo diary, notes and photographs. I then picked 45 photos and organised these into two groups. One represents photos in which interviewees felt a sense of dynamic life,

and the other was pictures in which participants recognised their living environment. I interviewed eleven people who came of different classes, jobs and ages, all living and/or working in Chung District. I divided the 45 photographs on each topic into three groups and randomly chose one of these three groups to be the interview photos. Then, I interviewed those peoples who come from multiple groups, asking them to introduce other people to me as my interviewees. They are all work or live within the site for over one year and have multiple interactions with diverse groups within a day. All interviewees were provided with the Information and Consent Sheet and I explained the aim and process of the research, as well as how the data of the interview will be used and be kept anonymous. They also knew their right to withdraw anytime they want. Eventually, fourteen people were willing to be interviewed. Before each interview, I explained their rights and explained the research so as to solicit informed consent (see appendix). After they had signed the form, I began the interview with some foundational questions asking such as their daily life behaviours, where they undertook them and whom they might meet. Then, using photographs, I let them choose which image might represent their daily life (from the group of images showing daily life). They then chose photos they felt represented the whole area (district) from the group of images showing the living environment. I also explored ideas such as how they feel about the photos, and those spaces or groups they did not like and the reasons. Finally, I compared the interview results to my photo diary and observation records to examine and analyse the differences and similarities in terms of a dynamic living environment. After finishing the interviews, I organised all the

results of photos, diary, observation and interviews and conducted data analysis, comparing the findings to interview results

The interviews were undertaken in Chinese, recorded (interview transcript) and organised in Mandarin first. After the interview, the researcher decoded the transcript to find the key words such as “feeling” (感), “daily life” (日常生活), “forming” (建構), “composition” (組成), “recognise” (認同) and so forth. I also sought words that were used by interviewees several times. The results were then translated into English, consulting literature to find the most precise translation to decrease the possibility of errors.

Organising key words from observation and interviews can help the researcher to find those elements that form features of the site and local culture. Also, this is the way to examine whether the researcher observed interactions that fit with the interview results or not, to examine whether the interpretation of the observations and interviews match. The analysis of interviews aimed to confirm the features that composed the local culture finding in participant observation and photos.

As discussed in the first section, current Asian urban (re)development either develops from neighbourhoods or communities, but does not yet consider both sides. Hence, the research attempted to create a new method to explore ways of urban redevelopment, to contain both professional and local views. This research used long-term participant observation rather than short-term (paper) data collection to explore daily life. This discovered locals participating in different behaviours. It innovated and practiced serial visual records and analysed diagrams to discuss the operation of

the living environment. In seeking a new method and practical way to develop urban (re)development that is different from current urban (re)development methods, it attempted to capture the interactions of every element and their inter-relations within the living environment. It aims to find the features of a stable and suitable operation region from both professionals' and locals' perspectives.

This chapter has described current conditions in Asian urban (re)development to clarify and set up the aim and questions of this research. Mainly, this chapter explores how the research set up a series of appropriate methods and a new urban study concept that combines the perspectives of professionals and locals to attempt to understand the operation and composition of a living urban area. To start the exploration of the Chung District, the next chapter will discuss the specific living environment and features observed and recorded by the research methods discussed above.

Chapter 3 – A Breathing District: Observation and Features of the Empirical Site

3.1 The Forming of a Self-Sufficient System

Dawn and Morning

Motorcycles are parked quietly along the five-foot-ways in front of houses and within alleys and streets. Houses doors were closed or ajar, but different sounds and smell of foods seeped from windows. A few people were watering their trees in front of homes and children were waiting for school buses and running along the alley. At the end of the street, several stands were chained together. Vehicle were roaring past on roads while labourers, office workers, students and others on their way to traditional markets were flowing within roads, streets and alleys quietly. The whole area looks as quiet as if it had just defrosted from the ice age, but it can be seen through the ice that wild and fast rivers were passing and intersecting under it. The only blatant points were breakfast stores and convenience stores that were full of different groups who were waiting for, ordering and collecting foods. On the edge of the district, the night-markets were going to pack up and early markets were going to open. At the moment of alternation between day and night, different life and spaces were also shifting.

(Field Work Diary, 14th October 2015)

Noon and Afternoon

Following the rise of the sun and the temperature, the district became living and noisy. Groups and behaviours were filling the serial spaces. Shops doors were opened

widely, neighbours and shop owners were chatting on the five-foot-ways, and customers were sitting inside shops or on five-foot-ways and spending their lunchtime with friends or colleagues. Almost every commercial space in the area was occupied by different groups. Residents were wandering around the traditional market and vendors in the market were eating between the busy periods. Neighbouring office workers were eating and chatting on five-foot-ways, waiting for their take-out lunch or drink. Local shop-owners were eating or taking a nap in their own shop, which is also their own home upstairs. Foreign labourers were working on the shops in the backstreets and laughing. Meanwhile, under the hot sunshine, the recycling products collectors were shuttling within alleys and streets to collect recycling materials from shops or residents. Labourers who do night jobs were just going back home and taking a rest. The region now was like a lively tropical aquarium. Different multiple groups were shuttling or resting, interlaced. They all acted separately but also mutual interference was inevitable.

(Field Work Diary, 22nd October 2015)

Dusk and Night

Following the sunset, the night vendors are just like another new rising tide. They pulled their stands, walking along alleys and streets and assembled on the roads. Vendors were busy in setting up their stands under the faint daylight, placing tables and chairs. Following the setting up of lights and the cooking area, new temporary places were created one by one along the main road. Shops and houses lit up their homes and five-foot-ways. People who just got home were pulling up a chair and

sitting in front of their houses, enjoying the breeze and watching people come and go. Passers-by saw those houses (homes) just like a series of windows, full of diverse people and behaviours. Someone was feeding children, someone was cooking, and someone was watching television. Not far away, another tide was ebbing away, as people shut their lights and gates, and slid into their dreams.

(Field Work Diary, 30th October 2015)

These three paragraphs describe normal scenes from daily life in the Chung District, showing how this area contains multiple groups and behaviours within spaces during different periods, in repeating and gradual changes of daily life, and how their compositions form diverse further interactions. The first chapter introduced briefly the specific living environment of the Chung District and its regional atmosphere. This chapter will discuss the features of this district and explore related theories. The first section (3.1) will discuss the self-sufficiency of the area. The following two sections (3.2, 3.3) will discuss two features that support its stable system, which are the satisfaction of daily life and social needs, and the free shifting of roles. Furthermore, it will discuss how multiple elements support the forming of the self-sufficient system and how they create social support networks, giving people the freedom to act out their behaviour and choose who to interact with. The final section (3.4) will establish that a stable and dynamic living environment is not only formed by multiple elements, but also as a result of their interactions. This means that every element is connected within the cultural life circuit and will recompose and form a flexible living environment. This shows that it is essential to consider all elements and their interactions in urban (re)development.









As mentioned above, within the Chung District there is a small but robust self-sufficient system. From the observation process, it can be seen that this is not only supported by its multiple spaces, but also by groups, behaviours and their composition. The definition of self-sufficiency in the Chung District is not like the common definition of self-sufficiency relating to sustainable agriculture, nor of urban metropolitan requirements like systems of energy or water (Maurice, 1973[105]; Guilherme de Oliveira e Silva and Hendrick, 2016 [50]). The meaning of self-sufficiency that applies to the Chung District in this context is that the interior elements directly support the producers (system) themselves and the needs of the unit. The sustainable system within the Chung District its can support people who live or act within it and maintains its foundational self-operation. Support of social and daily life needs means it can contain multiple daily life elements, providing different food materials to satisfy different groups within the area, as well as different scales of social interactions like information exchange during commercial trading and so on. Role shifting means people can flexibly play multiple roles and appropriate behaviours of different roles in different periods and places, supporting all residents regardless of their economic capability or social class.

Even though the cultural life circuit contains a self-sufficient system, its interactions with the exterior world are not self-contained. Instead, exactly those multiple classes (groups) and behaviours exist in it, so that it has dynamic and diverse possibilities to create extended exterior interactions. Also, all potential social interactions can be activated and reproduced by the interactions of multiple elements within the living environment (how the living environment supports people's daily and social life

needs will be discussed in section 3.2 and Chapter 5; role shifting will be discussed in sections 3.3 and 6.4; and how potential social interactions are formed within those daily life interactions will be discussed in sections 7.4 and 7.5). Next, this section will explore how the self-sufficiency system is practiced and represented in the Chung District to form a specific living environment.

The observation results show that one of the foundational factors of the Chung District is that it can create self-sufficiency by containing multiple and diverse spaces, groups and behaviours, and by enhancing the different levels of overlapping interactions, such as multiple-scale daily economic trading. Tables 1, 2 and 3 list the main groups, behaviours and spaces operating within the Chung District. It shows how they are composed of a diverse and strong fundamental base to allow different daily lives and social activities to be enacted, to satisfy the social and daily life needs of the inhabitants. Within the Chung District, there are diverse groups intersecting and existing. There are locals and non-locals, short- and long-term residents, different types of workers (office workers, labourers, students, etc.) or both (local businessmen, shop owners, etc.), foreigners (immigrants or workers) and natives, as well as a mix of ages and sexes. Different levels, classes and backgrounds all live and act within spaces, accordingly creating different behaviours and further interactions.





Table 1. Diverse groups in the Chung District.

<p>Residents</p> 	<p>Worker (labourers, officer workers, etc.)</p>  		<p>Homelessness</p> 
<p>Student</p> 	<p>Businessman & Customers</p> 	<p>Foreigners/ labourers or tourists</p> 	<p>Different ages and genders (were waiting for the buses)</p> 

The photographs show diverse groups in the Chung District. They are from different levels and classes, from the homeless to relatively wealthy residents. Chung District contains both insiders and outsiders, for instance from the local businessman to the office workers who visit to work or eat. It also contains people of different ages, such as elementary school students and elders. The diversity of groups forms the possibilities of intersection. For example, there are different relationships created and extended from different businesses, like vendors who rent a space such as a five-foot-way from local shop-owners or workers who habitually buy their breakfast from a

local store. All of them will create different connections and portray multiple intersections and the potential of overlapping groups. Also in the Chung District, there are different uses (commercial, residential and mixed), forms, scales (alleys, streets, roads etc.) and types (public, private or semi-public) of spaces. Moreover, different behaviours are undertaken within them, such as personal and family private activities and different scale economic activities between different groups (customers, vendors, shops etc.).

Table 2. Diverse spaces in the Chung District.

Space			
Land use	Residential	Tall buildings	House
			
	Commercial	Chain stores	Big chain super market
			













		<p>Vendor</p> 	<p>Retail store</p> 
Type	<p>Alley</p> 	<p>Street</p> 	<p>Road</p> 
Function	<p>Public</p> 	<p>Private</p> 	<p>Mixed</p> 

Table 3. Diverse behaviours in the Chung District.

Behaviour		
Daily life	Eating	Doing laundry
		
Social life	Chatting with neighbourhoods	Hanging out with friends and interacting with shop owners
		

Because of the diverse elements within the Chung District, it allows the formation of multiple interactions in different compositions of spaces, behaviours and groups. For instance, different scales of daily life economic activities, such as people selling food or eating and socialising after work all interact in the same roadside space. Or, in a casual restaurant where locals spend their leisure and social time, they can meet neighbours or conduct family activities. Those mixed and overlapping conditions create links between different groups and behaviours. This shows that precisely the diversity of elements, spaces, behaviours, groups and the random and flexible

cooperation and compositions of these form the infrastructural support of the area. They satisfy diverse needs and create the base of the internally self-sufficient system. It also shows that the space enables a wide range of people to undertake activities and that the environment can satisfy one's foundational daily life needs.

Within the living environment of the Chung District, behaviours such as eating, dwelling, clothing, amusement and education are all essential aspects of supporting our daily life. Among all of them, eating is not only profoundly related to our daily memory and experiences and affects our feeling and sense of the surrounding environment, but also reflects individuals' social background and moral norms (de Certeau, Giard and Mayol, 1998[28]). Eating enhances a distinct social life in different cultures but also provides the basic daily requirements for survival. For instance, inviting someone to drink tea can represent a willingness to exchange and share information and to regard him/her as a friend, in Taiwan and many Asian countries. Furthermore, these spaces could extend to and link other spaces and support other behaviours. For example, a pot of tea and a crowd of people playing Chinese chess under a tree is a classical part of both daily life and social activity in Taiwan or Chinese normal daily life. The photographs below show different people from different spaces joined in the drinking or playing chess, although these are not the most important points, nor is the space itself. They are just the potential points at which that groups (people) and events (behaviours) might intersect. The point at which behaviour and groups are involved with each other matters, but those surrounding spaces and groups who interacted, watched or joined the conversation or

behaviour are also important in co-creating a diverse and living environment through extended behaviours and further interactions with other behaviours and groups.



Figure 11. People meet and perform different social or daily behaviours.

Left: Miaoli County, Taiwan. Right: Beijing, China.

The discussion above shows that the key to further activities and social interactions is not only the (designed) space and people involved in the event, but the surrounding spaces and people. Moreover, those spaces were redefined by people's daily life activities within and surrounding them. For example, the space in Figure 11 that is next to the house and under the tree was not designed as a public space, but people have defined it as a social space. Moreover, behaviours jointly define and give different meanings to their surroundings and linked spaces. For example, in Figure 11 (Right), without the small grocers, the onlookers, the laughing and chatting customers who were sitting outside of the nearby restaurant creating the atmosphere, this space would not have such a lively atmosphere. The reason it works is because of the intersection of all those elements. Those points that can extend and trigger further

behaviours and attract surrounding people are usually found in daily life spaces and behaviours, rather than designed, independent spaces with specific purposes, such as a plaza. Thus the active centre, the space and behaviours enacted within it are indeed important, but the linked surrounding spaces and groups are more important. The living environment is formed like a domino effect that is enhanced by all elements in the same circuit.

Continuing the discussion of food and its links to memory and relationships of enatic members, the relationship of an enatic member such as shopping with one's mother in a traditional market, the sound and greetings between vendors and customs, and assisting her to cook in the kitchen all build our daily lives. Such activities and thoughts form a loop which links the inside and outside of our living environment. *"Eating... to make concrete one of the specific modes of relation between a person and the world, thus forming one of the fundamental landmarks in space-time"* (de Certeau, Giard and Mayol, 1998[30], p.183). Food represents the multiple choices of spaces and people we face every day, and also how those choices are made based on a complex and dynamic composition of all elements in our living environment.

Therefore, dining is a great perspective from which to explore the operation of the living circuit and how it forms an internally self-sufficient system. The cases below will represent how different dining spaces and behaviours support different groups; how multiple and overlapping connections were built behind those interactions, and how those features support the self-sufficiency of the system within the living environment.



Figure 12. Different cuisines and daily life.

These photographs show different foods, from higher to lower prices (from upper left to lower left to upper right to lower right). They also represent different groups, from people who have time and money to dine or engage in leisure or social activities, to

normal locals buying from simple vendors on the roadside. There are cheap buffets for labourers (lower-right) and those shops (vendors) providing ingredients for people who usually are families wanting to cook at home (lower-left). Multiple choices support multiple groups to co-exist in this common environment. Different interactions and connections also can be seen from the photographs. For instance, the top right photo shows an elderly customer who is likely local, having lunch and chatting to the vendor who rents the space in front of another local's house. It shows that even in the same space, the same behaviour, different links were made between and by different levels groups. Also, the research diary and photographs show that everyone can freely find a way and space to satisfy their needs in the Chung District, supporting the existence of different groups.

I saw several groups of males and females in shirts (office workers) waiting for their breakfast in a convenience store. Most of them grabbed sandwiches [£1] or Onigiri (90p) and were looking for some drinks. Some of them took the Oden (£1-1.50) or Tea eggs (20p) that are all cheap choices in Taiwan, and takes less time to wait.....

during the same period, there were also some office workers waiting for their breakfast on the five-foot-way with such as students, residents or labourers in those small breakfast stores. (The price of breakfast in a breakfast store is from £1-2)

(Field Work Diary, 23th, February 2016)

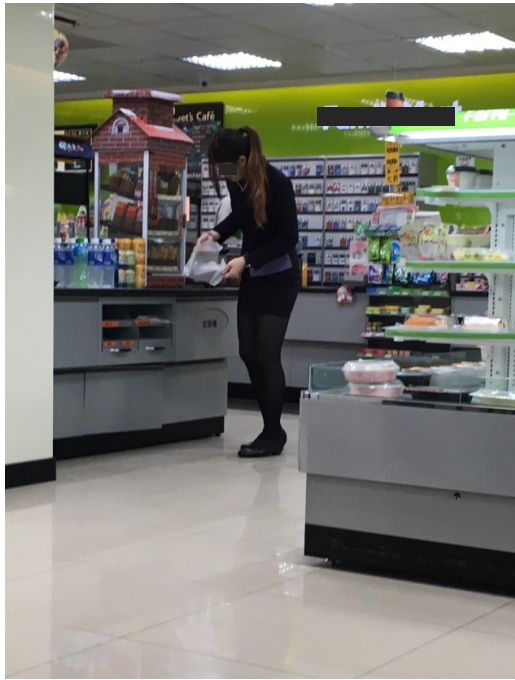


Figure 13. Activities in a convenience store.

Left: A female office worker buying some tea eggs. Right: A male office worker choosing his breakfast.



Figure 14. Different breakfast choices contain and support different groups.

Left: Locals and workers buying food from a traditional breakfast store. It provides tables and chairs for people who want to enjoy a cosy and slow morning. Right:

Anyone can buy their breakfast from a mobile breakfast car on the roadside on their way to the office or school. It takes less time and so there are no spaces to sit down.

Those photos show that within the same district every group has multiple choices for breakfast. Whether they have require something quick and convenient, something cheap, or hope for personal or social interaction, these needs can be met. Even people who want to have breakfast at home might buy food the day before from a supermarket (higher price commodities) or buy ingredients very early from a traditional market (cheaper commodities). All those cases show that diverse choices are provided, and activities are undertaken within spaces during the same period (breakfast time) for different groups in the Chung District. One interviewee indicated a different space and means for one group to spend their breakfast time.

This café shop opens very early, it sells breakfast from 6 am.... the shop looks old and extremely ordinary from the building façade. When you arrived to it [the shop] at about 7 or 8 am, you might meet locals that are about seventy to ninety years old..... and he [the shop owner] will introduce you that this is Layer Huang, and this is Doctor Chen etc. he knows everyone's name and background. Also, they [customers] do not need to order meals, he knows what they want. Moreover, [there is] a lecturer who comes to lead discussions and analyse such [things as] as horse racing, stock market, sport games and so on for them. Because those people earned large amounts of money [when they were young] they come to here to meet friends and discuss those

events as their daily “leisure activity”. Some of them might also take their lunch here.

(The prices of meals in this café are from £4-6) (Xu, 許)

I saw a rich wife came to The Second Market with her maid. She walked along vendors and stopped at one and pointed every item that she wanted and finally spent almost eight thousand (NTD) food [about £200] in one vendor.....the amount is [such that] a normal family such as mine cannot image...For me, just one thousand NTD meats can support my whole family for [about one week]. You can see that [the Chung District] not only supports lower or middle-price products, [but] also very high class. You will notice that the composition of groups here is very interesting and that there are groups like I mentioned above [people in the old café shop] but also many labourers. (Xu, 許)

These cases show that different people can freely and flexibly choose and lead their daily lives at the same time within the living area. This is also one of the main features supporting internal self-sufficiency and shows that the dynamic living environment can be formed because it can support different elements to exist and act within it. The research indicates that the whole (Chung) district is built on a self-sufficient system, but not an enclosed system. It might not be like a big modern city that is prosperous and popular in big-scale commercial or business ways, but it can satisfy the foundational operations and needs of daily life of all people within it. It contains not only one group or class, but many. Within the district, there are expensive commodities that sell to the upper classes, and retail stores and night market that provide cheap commodities to labourers or middle class. As one local said

(Mr. Xu) *“The (Chung) district is just like a flattened department store where everyone can find spaces to act and satisfy their daily life.”*

Another issue in urban region planning, related to the previous discussion, is the concept of mixed use. New Urbanism discusses the concept of mixed land use, which indicates that the mix of differently used spaces such as commercial and residential can enhance the diversity of a region and build a sustainable community (Hamam Serag El Din et. al., 2012.[63]; Ohm and Sitkowski, 2004[116]). Moreover, it indicates that if the centre of a community is used residentially, it should be mixed and surrounded by other land uses, such as working and commercial land. However, it can be seen that in the Chung District all types and uses of spaces are equal and mixed. There is no superior type; everyone is surrounded by others and part of others. In addition, the Chung District is not only horizontally mixed but also vertically mixed; not only space mixed but also group and behaviours mixed (see Chapter 4). Also, every space could be used by different people for different purposes and be affected by surrounding spaces and people. As the above cases such as playing Chinese chess show, that the space (active centre) can support and contain behaviours is important, but spaces can link and overlap in those spaces and groups surrounding it and this is also important. Jane Jacobs (2000[70]) who is a significant non-government urban observer who affects subsequent community development profoundly argues that the region needs to be designed as mixed use, different-aged buildings, etc. to maintain the vitality of the living environment. However, in the Chung District the mixing of space is not the only reason for the dynamic environment, but also the diverse mixed of different elements, which overlap interact.

In addition, New Urbanism gestures at the concept of mixed spaces (land use) and zone planning such as business and residential. It considers how those spaces should be designed and how behaviours enacted within them can be predicted. However, the Chung District shows that a mix of spatial types is not enough on its own (discussed further in Chapter 6). The formation of the living environment is not just through a mix of residential and commercial land use, but inter-relations and overlaps. Those dynamic and potential interactions are not created by only one fixed use, but also those adjacent spaces and groups that can observe, join in and then define the space. Furthermore, even the Chung District does not contain any significant designed public space or related ideas, as New Urbanism pays attention to, such as parks, green spaces, walkability and separation between pedestrians and roads. It still contains dynamic intersecting behaviours that are developed and extended from simple daily life and those active spaces. This shows that enhancing the diversity and dynamics of a living environment is achieved by not only specific designed spaces, but also by integrating and linking behaviours and groups within it. Mixed space indeed can create a mixed surrounding environment that involves surrounding behaviours and groups, thus linking of different spaces, behaviours and groups together, but the formation of the living environment is not achieved by space alone.

Moreover, the research findings show that in addition to maintaining a diverse composition of elements (space, behaviours and groups), intersection and interaction should be increased (how those elements coexist and cooperate will be discussed in Chapters 6 and 7). Thus, the daily life of a self-sufficient area means that all elements within it can cooperate and support all other elements' needs, creating and enhancing

a self-supporting system. Furthermore, it shows that to form a self-sufficiency living environment, an area should contain multiple groups, space and behaviours. This is similar to how a complete ecosystem should contain a multi-element environment and then the multiple elements support the operation of the environment, complementing each other and forming an unbreakable circuit.

As discussed, the operation of a self-sufficient system depends on its diverse, mixed and overlapped elements. Also, the mixed conditions can enhance further interactions of different elements nearby. In addition, the research found that a self-sufficient system can support multiple shifts of roles within groups. The flexible shifting of roles will and can create different social interactions and connections. To summarise this section, the Chung District forms a self-sufficient, but not self-contained, environment. It has strong interior connections to support daily life or social life needs (behaviours) of every element. The next section will discuss one positive feature that is supported by a self-sufficient system: how different daily life and social needs are satisfied in this living environment.

3.2 The support of daily life and social life

People need to be satisfied in both mental and physical ways in their life. Social life can support our mental needs, and our daily life is based on meeting physical needs, such as our need for food. This section will discuss how the living environment supports people's daily life needs and how social life needs are satisfied within it in different ways. In the past, close and frequent interactions with the neighbourhood created strong social networks. Within the network, people can receive support from

their neighbourhood (Vaiou and R.Lykogianni, 2006; Laurier, Whyte and Buckner, 2002[83]). During that time, people have more support from a social network that is rooted in their immediate geographical living environment (Mills, 2007[109]; Middleton, Murie and Groves, 2005[109]). For example, children could be taken care of by neighbours or play in the vicinity of their homes when their parents go out to work. Moreover, the neighbourhood might share resources such as food with each other. The neighbourhood contains daily life interactions and also strong and unavoidable social intersections and support. In these conditions, sometimes the neighbourhood is also the community. Social life and daily life are thus linked tightly.

In current Asian society, as in the Chung District, because of the development of technologies and transportation systems, the maintenance of a social network is easy and not limited by geography. It indeed might decrease the interactions and effects of neighbourhood in the traditional social way. Although interactions may look insubstantial, they still represent connections. Also, comparing to past society to current urban social interactions, we might see that current relations are relatively cold, and thus prioritise the flexibility of daily life interactions and support for social networks in the modern daily life.

People no longer rely on their neighbourhood for support in the way that they once did. The community also does not necessarily have a geographically-based relation anymore because people can get make connections with others in many other ways (McQuire, 2010[106]). This section will discuss two different kinds of resources to support social life within the Chung District. One is independent from daily life

operations, like the narrow definition of a community that is based on and constructed by specific groups who have common recognition and common behaviours (Hillery, 1981[41]; Ferdinand Tönnies, 2003[34]). The other is developed and extended from daily life, and people depend less on this in modern times.

Social life is necessary to finding a sense of belonging and support (Walton and Cohen, 2007[148]; Baumeister and Leary, 1995[10]; Mill, 2007[109]; Dina Vaiou and Rouli Lykogianni, 2006) and can foster people becoming involved in their living environment. In the Chung District, a satisfying social life is not limited by geographical factors anymore. People look for common recognition with some groups regardless of where those groups are. Modern people now have more options to connect with and maintain their social network. The first factor supporting people's social lives is the multiple transportation systems in the Chung District, allowing people to travel to meet friends, for example. In the Chung District, there are internal and cross-city coach stations as well as a main train station. There are automatic public bicycle rental strongholds, so that people who do not own motorcycles or vehicles can also travel around. The interior and exterior transportation systems support people to connect with their friends and to become involved in those communities they recognise without being limited by geographical distance.



Figure 15. Transportation systems in the Chung District.

Right: A woman renting a public bicycle from a machine. Left: Two persons waiting for the bus. They sat on a bench that was placed by the shop-owner on the five-foot-way. This photo also shows how the shop owner extended their daily life from the indoor to the outdoor public space by putting one chair in the five-foot-way, jointly affecting surrounding groups, people who wait for buses, passing customers and the neighbouring shop. It shows a bottom-up use of space by multiple groups (behaviours), just like the drinking and playing chess cases discussed above. This suggests again that the essential point in creating a dynamic environment is not designed space, but how groups and behaviours link and intersect with surrounding elements to form a circuit. Chapter 7 will further the discussion of how people practice daily life behaviours to redefine the environment, to overturn top-down strategies.



Figure 16. Bus system in the Chung District.

Several workers and students were waiting for buses. They came here to work or attend after-school courses from other districts.

There are other factors to support social connections and needs: the Internet and social media. Setting aside the consideration that the social media weakens modern society's face-to face social relationships, one cannot deny that the Internet helps people to connect and makes it more convenient. It not only satisfies people's need for friends and company, but also supports a feeling similar to community-belonging.

Technology has created a new type of social interaction and connection, also decreasing the limitations of geography (Urry, 1995 [142]). While carrying out the field research, in the beginning I was an outsider, a new immigrant who just moved in and knew nobody in the Chung District. Social media such as LINE or Facebook was

the only way I could contact friends and family and seek help. Here is a record of my feelings during this period:

This is the beginning of the second week since I have moved to the Chung District. I know very little of the living environment, although I take a walk around the district almost every day. I felt I like an oil painting that is going to be covered with white, to cover the past and repaint new scenes on it. I do not know where I can eat or where I can undertake leisure activities. Fortunately, there are friends who also live in Taichung, one is in Taichung county, and another is in the North District which is next to the Chung District in Taichung city. They can introduce me to places where I can eat and take a rest through the LINE. Every day, after finishing research and going home, friends' greetings via different forms of social media ease the anxiety and feeling of being alone. I feel that I am not forgotten.

(Field Work Diary, 3rd October 2015)

The Internet is also one way I (a new immigrant) became involved in the living environment and received support from my neighbourhood. The landlord set up a LINE group for all tenants of the building I lived in, enabling us to report problems and chat online. I noticed that residents reported problems and exchanged information to help others, especially new tenants. Parts of the field work record refer to this:

A tenant report that someone parked their motorcycle and blocked the front gate. Another tenant reported it was moved and he had met the guy who [parked the motorcycle, and he] was not a tenant but a customer at the nearby night-market. He [the tenant] also asked him to be careful [not to block the gate] next time.

(Field Work Diary, 8th November 2015)

A girl asked in the LINE group who put her motorcycle helmet in the building.

Another tenant replied “It was raining, and the helmet fell on the motorcycle foot mat and was getting wet. Therefore, I moved it into the lobby. I hoped you won't mind.”

The girl said she did not mind, she just wanted to said thanks.

(Field Work Diary, 2nd January 2016)

Today a new tenant just moved in, he said “Hi” to everyone in the group and asked what he can eat for dinner. I was surprised, at least five people responded to him immediately. Also, all their recommendations are very local (vendors or shops) that only people who live within this area would know. Other people kindly pointed out the store at which the new tenant can shop for daily life supplies that he might need, since he just moved in. Also, it is interesting that the store the tenant mentioned is exactly the one which a local shop-owner [located on the corner] suggested to me as a place to buy daily life supplies at the first day I moved in.

(Field Work Diary, 28th November 2015)

These entries show that while people might not know each other's' personal details or have many face-to-face interactions with fellow tenants (the total number being approximately 25), they still notice who owns a particular motorcycle, for example. They still pay attention to the living environment and people in the neighbourhood. This shows that there is still a neighbourhood connection within the living environment, but formed in a more flexible way from the traditional. Tenants did not

have many direct face-to-face connections, but still exchanged greetings in the lift, lobby and parking spaces and co-operated within a social network.

This reflects the description of social media as breaking the boundaries of families, geographical living environment and work, and the boundary between private and public life (Luo, 2017[102]). Social media brings people in the same living circuit closer, overcoming geographical limitations to communicate with people and groups that they recognise. Furthermore, from the cases discussed here, social media also supports an independent social and daily life. The neighbourhood could consist of people who live geographically nearby but it could also be people or groups that communicate online every day to support each other. An urbanite has options for interacting with their neighbours or not. Also, the breaking of boundaries produces flexibility, potential further interactions and the overlap of different groups and behaviours. Support from social media makes people feel less stressed and limited by geographically-related groups (their neighbourhood), therefore making it easier for people live or act in the living environment (Chung District) by increasing their freedom to shift the boundaries of public and private.

The meaning of the traditional neighbourhood is kept alive in the living environment in a different way by modern technology. Furthermore, it also shows that people within the same area have social connections with friends through public transport and the Internet. It is like the traditional neighbourhood, but with connections built on connections other than face-to-face. As in the case of my building, through the Internet the neighbourhood still provides connection and a feeling of belonging in the

space (the building). The most important thing is the flexibility, which leads to social interactions.

Online shopping allows busy workers convenience and time, increasing the time that people stay in their living or working area. It also potentially creates more connections with others. This is reflected in the Chung District, which is also a common phenomenon in Taiwan: after work, people go to a convenience store to collect the parcels that they have ordered online and maybe buy dinner in passing. In the fieldwork observation in places such as convenience stores, I saw people creating interactions and social connections in the convenience stores near to their home or workplace. For example, the clerks did not always need to check the customer's ID card to know their name, which means they had past interactions. Moreover, people collected their parcels and then stayed to talk to clerks or other customers, who are also locals. Several customers who are locals or office workers ordered pre-paid drinks at a discount, thus increasing the rate of returning customers, and potentially increasing the opportunities for further social activities in the convenience store. This makes it an essential space for interactions and encounters. The importance of such spaces in supporting social activities and diverse group is discussed in section 5.4, and Chapter 6.



Figure 17. Different daily life activities undertaken in a convenience store.

Left: A man collecting parcels, waiting for his food. Middle: A clerk finding a parcel.

Right: A man was waiting for his pre-paid coffee and chats to the clerk.

The social life that is extended from daily life is also represented in another case.

Observation of breakfast stores shows that many customers will order by phone in advance. The shop owners are not afraid of customers failing to collect their food, and usually recognise their voices and the products they ordered. Moreover, the observation diary also records several occasions when customers forgot to bring their wallet, but were trusted to pay next time. Owners recognise customers and remember what they usually order. This behaviour forms a similar atmosphere to that found in an older, more traditional community. People can acquire store credit in a neighbourhood retail store and shop-owners know their neighbours. However, this is not the same unavoidable social contact that one might have in a neighbourhood, since customers are diverse and from different areas. Also, they do not need to receive and build up daily life support from those social interactions, as the traditional neighbourhood does. Rather, this is a series of short linking points between home and

the next step, such as the workplace. These social activity networks seem to be based on economic interactions, but actually extend from daily life-level interactions. The social network is formed by these small-scale behaviours and commercial choices, piece by piece.

Social activities that extend from daily life activities are enacted everywhere at any one time in the Chung District. For instance, the ground floor of a house tends to be a commercial space and upper floors are in residential use. Therefore, shop-owners will undertake both personal and commercial activities within one space, like a five-foot-way. Hence, people have opportunities to observe mixed private and public movements that happen outside their houses. They still have their eyes on the streets and maintain neighbourhood social activities. In enacting these social activities, peoples can shift their role to enact their daily life or social life interactions with different people within mixed spaces. Under these conditions, people can choose to be involved in social activities or not. To some extent, there is less tension than in unavoidable interactions and the feeling of intrusion that can accompany this in a neighbourhood. Tension in mixed spaces and behaviours will be returned to later in section of 'Mixed Space'(section 6.1) and 'Mixed Behaviour' (section6.2) and 'Mixed Groups'(section 6.3).

In the Chung circuit, most social activities are developed and extended from daily life activities. This kind of social behaviour is not originally produced for a social purpose. The most important point is that they are created from daily life behaviours instead of by unavoidable interactions in a neighbourhood or community. Those daily

life interactions not only support social life but also become the foundation for the operation of this self-sufficient circuit. Every element can choose who to interact with, which roles to play and when to get involved, supported by and within the circuit.

Thus, the essential function of an area is to facilitate diverse daily life behaviours. An area should contain different scales, types and functions in spaces so that they can support multiple groups and behaviours. On the contrary, diverse groups and behaviours can maintain and form multiple spaces. This overlapping diversity not only supports people's daily life needs, but also provides opportunities to create visual and physical contacts and involvement in other lives. It supports further social behaviours to happen, but also eases loneliness. For instance, people can choose to buy food from a food store or convenience store and eat at home alone, or they can find stores or street vendors and eat with a crowd of people. This gives people choices within the same circuit, creating social contact or interactions (see section 7.5).



Figure 18. Multiple and overlapping daily life activities.

A person in the Chung living environment can see different activities happening around them. (Left) For instance, there are vendors commercially trading while engaging in daily life (family) behaviours. The vendor's child wearing school uniform is playing with his phone and helping his parents. (Right) Locals chat to friends. The ground floor shop-owners are doing business and some customers are waiting for their drinks on the five-foot-way.



Figure 19. Over-lapping daily life activities.

Peoples eat together on the roadside stands, creating a temporary feeling of belonging to a group and not being alone and making it more likely that social interactions will take place.



Figure 20. Dynamic daily life behaviours within spaces.



Walking along roads or streets, we can see that there are serial of daily life and social activities interlaced within spaces. People wait for their food (barbecued food in the images above), and meanwhile, they conduct personal activities, such as playing on smartphones or chatting with friends. Customers temporarily become part of each other's lives.

Those photos show that in a living circuit, people can deal with their daily life and social life separately (unlike in a traditional community). This is more like an

extension of the home, into the overlapping areas of different people's daily lives. People now can easily link and maintain their social life and social groups via technology or convenient transport. They can join any communities they recognise and receive support at any time, unlimited by geography. People's activities within the area also form a common recognition of daily life through interactions that are created by overlapping and mixed spaces and groups. This can support every individual to conduct their daily life smoothly and provide a sense of belonging. Within this, urbanites can also maintain solitude, flexible choices of interaction and keeping their distance if they so wish. They have multiple options to be involved in social behaviours or not as the case may be. They will not feel lonely because they can join in any behaviour and spaces as they want. Put simply, the space allows solitude but not loneliness. In conclusion, the daily life and social life needs of people in the Chung District can be satisfied flexibly and separately. Furthermore, because of the mixed conditions and support of both social and daily life needs, this living environment is more flexible so that people can play which roles (identity) they want within different spaces. Accordingly, it can create opportunities for the interaction of different groups and behaviours to form a more inter-supported and dynamic living environment. The following section will discuss how people can be supported to have multiple roles, and how they then might develop further interactions in these circumstances.

3.3 The Constitution of Different Relationships, Roles and Interactions

If immigrants can get along with their neighbourhood well, they can combat feelings of isolation, but this can put pressure on social interactions (Craille, 2016[22]).

Homogenous places, writes Anzilotti, can be extremely isolating (2016[5]). They indicate the importance of the living environment and how surrounding spaces and groups affect people's feelings and social intentions. Moreover, finding a balance of receiving social support and appropriate control of social distance is important in forming a good living environment. As discussed, social connections are less controlled by geographical limitation in modern times, giving people greater personal space and less social pressure from neighbouring groups. In the Chung District, there are diverse, multiple and mixed groups and spaces, which not only support the diverse needs of groups, but also increase opportunities for people to interact with other groups, ease loneliness, and get to know each other. Low-pressure interactions that are created by mixed compositions can support new immigrants to get involved in the area. Accordingly, the dynamic quality and variety of the area can encourage more potential activities. This section will discuss how the Chung living environment forms conditions in which people can shift and play multiple roles, without feeling the limitations associated with neighbourhoods and communities, and with freedom to interact with others.

Goffman indicates that people perform the roles they want to be seen in and recognise, as well as being affected by that performance (Goffman, 1966)[49]). This is a bidirectional effect and can be formed by others. The last section established how

people no longer face the same geographical limitations in forming social connections, decreasing the need for performance and fixed roles in specific environments. The group of people who live or act within in the same region need to cooperate; they cannot keep playing fixed performances in front of each other but need to find the true person in each other. This relationship is formed as long as the individual has a position in the group, the same living environment, so that they will be included in a true relationship (Goffman, 1966[49]). Thus, people who are involved in the social life, such as in a community, need to maintain a fixed role to build a social network and their position in the network. This suggests that people need to fix and decide what kind of role, what kind of performance, they want to play so that they can be accepted by the environment and others. However, the Chung District exemplifies a different situation from working in a fixed position to gain the social support of the environment and groups.

As discussed, the Chung District can create self-sufficiency by containing multiple groups and behaviours, providing diverse options to support individuals' daily lives through different spaces, behaviours and groups. Moreover, it satisfies people needs with flexible and convenience infrastructure (space) and social media, and by the possibility of observing and approaching others. The examples of playing chess and drinking tea (Figure 11) show that there are several linked spaces in operation and cooperation to help people to enact their behaviours within a day. Within the Chung District, satisfaction of different needs can be achieved, and most importantly they can satisfy the roles they want to play. All the features of the living environment

attempt to create a multiple and flexible environment, to allow people to play different roles and move beyond fixed conditions.

An urban area provides the possibility for strangers to meet. A stranger could be an outsider who is in a different position from the insider. People should know their identity so that can decide who 'belongs to us' or not (Sennett, 1977[132]). A fixed identity and position allow individuals to identify insiders and outsiders. Another definition of a stranger is someone who is unknown. People can recognise the unknown, but without knowing their background, job or daily routine (Sennett, 1977[132]). Some urban areas are a collection of the first kind of strangers, as might be found in an ethnic city. Other urban areas are composed of 'unknowns' which provides more flexibility for people in the living environment. Their roles have not been fixed; everything is under development. The uncertainty maintains flexibility and creates opportunities for further connections, the conditions for which will be discussed later.

Different from an urban area that contains a different composition of strangers, in a community, the roles people play are relatively simple. There are two definitions of a community: one based on geography, which defines community based on residence or co-presence in space; and one based on interest, affinity, ethnicity or identity (Painter, 2012[119]). Community also emphasises the collective activities and practices of people who live in a specific space (Vaiou and R. Lykogianni. 2006). It shows that in a community people undertake homogeneous activities, with something in common: a sense of common role and characteristics (Williams, 1984[155]). Thus, within a

community, people should sacrifice some options to perform a common role, a fixed role, to own a position and build the network, as Goffman and Sennett discuss. This will allow the formation of a strong 'we' and sense of belonging to a place; conversely it will create the Other, who does not belong (Cresswell, 2004[26]). Therefore, a community contains fewer possibilities and less flexibility in terms of role, thus decreasing the possibility for new elements to emerge. Within a community, common roles become a resource to reduce divergence and distinguish between outsiders and insiders. It might form strong recognition of spaces or groups, but it also decreases and simplifies roles within it. In the Chung district, spaces and groups will shift over time and overlap to support diverse behaviours so that it can maintain self-sufficiency. This feature also softens the significant boundary between outsiders and insiders and supports people's ability to play different roles.

Lefebvre notes that in modern society, space is a resource to be controlled and represented (1991b[89]). This reflects that in modern society, division and unity can increase the power to resist external forces. In a community, people are bound by fixed roles and have common needs and behaviours due to common recognition, in a fixed, specific time. This forms a firm boundary but also resists change. Urban designers tend to design homogeneous neighbourhoods so that investors (developers, local government etc.) can control where their capital will be put in. This means that the division of an area is also a representation (boundary) of hierarchy. It is a way to form fixed barriers of an area and decrease heterogeneity and diversity (Sennett, 1977[132]). Unlike a community, in connection with the aforementioned theories and pure land use area, the Chung circuit is more flexible and diverse. People have more

options to choose within it, but still can maintain and support the operation of their daily life and the living environment they live or act in. This recalls Goffman's idea that roles will be inter-related by the surrounding environment, but differs from what he indicated regarding fixed roles. This also differs from Sennett's notion of how it is necessary to fix roles and identities (outsider and insider, for instance) and form the boundary of the living environment and specific group to build social support.

The research observations show that there are two features supporting the operation of the living environment and maintaining diverse flexibility. Firstly, people's social life and daily life are satisfied separately. They do not need to fix their role to earn a position and recognition by others. Instead, people can choose different kinds of roles to practice in their daily life and to interact with different people. Secondly, people (groups) within the Chung District do not apply a role as a resource. Instead, they use it as a daily life tool, not the foundation to divide outsiders from insiders. The observation record shows several occasions on which people shift and play different roles in their daily life. Two short descriptions show how I notice a woman and foreign labourers play different roles to interact with others in different periods within spaces in the district.

I walked along streets and alleys that had not woken up. I saw several stands placed in front of houses on five-foot-ways quietly at dawn. The fragrance of fried eggs went out of windows and filled the alleys. A mother was hanging up clothes. She glanced at me and went back to the house. I heard her yell her children to wake up and walk out of the house again, get onto a motorcycle and disappear on the street corner like

smoke.....I walked around blocks for almost two hours. I saw people in different jobs (office workers, students, locals etc.) waiting for their breakfast in breakfast stores or convenience stores. Students just went out of their houses and waited in the alley for a school bus or friends to go to school together. I walked back to the house from which I saw the mother leave in the early morning. She was clearing the stand placed in front of her house now.

(Field Work Diary, 27th March 2016)

I saw the woman I met several days ago pull up a stand and walk to her selling place on a main roadside. She was preparing materials and setting up lights. A girl in high school uniform stood next to her, probably her daughter. She was helping to organise and set up the temporary commercial place. After a while, the daughter turned on the light and sat down to do her homework inside the stand. The woman stopped to talk to a shop-owner who has a store nearby.

(Field Work Diary, 29th March 2016)

On the way to the First Plaza, I saw two female foreign 24hr-nurses pushing wheelchairs and chatting along the roadside. Several plastic bags were hung on the handle of the wheelchairs, leaves of vegetable stuck out of the bags. Judging from the direction they came, it seems that they were returning from the nearby traditional market.....I turned a corner and approached the Herbs Street. I saw three male foreign workers were already worked in front of the shop, chopping food, chatting and laughing.

(Field Work Diary, 12nd, April, 2016)

After dinner, I walked along the Green River. Compared to the popular Electron Street on the western river bank, the east side of the river was relatively dark. Only four or five shops were still opened. I walked pass by an exotic commodity store. Small groups of people were outside the store and some were in the store. One-third of them were Taiwanese and others were foreigners. Most of them still wore dungarees, showing that they work as labourers. They carried plastic bags and walked along the riverside alone or with friends, probably walked home after a long day of work.

(Field Work Diary, 8th November 2015)



Figure 21. A supermarket for foreign labourers.

On the east side of the river, foreigners buy necessities from the exotic supermarket (or from their point of view, the supermarket that sell familiar commodities) after work. At that moment, they were a local, a customer and a tired worker, engaging in

leisure activities with friends. Those scenes show that during different periods within the Chung District people play different roles, no matter what kind of occupations they have, where they live or what nationality they are. They shift and connect different roles seamlessly during different periods and in different spaces. This kind of shift pushes people's lives on, supporting overlapping interactions within a series of spaces. Every role can be satisfied and supported within the shifts of this living environment. This is illustrated in two interviews:

Yes, [along this road] there are Pachinko shops for locals, and an internet bar, and a PUB that now [has] become the pub open mainly for foreign labourers... ..this [entertainment place] is for Vietnamese and this [place] is for Indonesians...it is interesting that pubs open at noon and close around 6pm on the weekend. It is a special [space] use that you cannot image [from its outside appearance].

(Xu, 許)

(I: What kind of customers do they serve in the hotel next door?) Most of them are foreign labourers. (I: I saw there are several exotic cuisine restaurants nearby.) Yes, they serve some office workers and foreign labourers who work here. You can see that my menu is also presented in English. (I: So, they [the foreign labourers] shop and meet friends at the First Plaza and then came here to eat or live in the hotel?) Yes, I think daily life [such as spaces in which they can buy hometown foods or hang out with other foreign labourers who come from the same country] here provides them [the foreign labourers] with the feeling of a hometown.

(Mr. and Mrs. Wu, 吳氏夫妻)

The interviews indicate that foreign labourers (of different nationalities) can change different roles in spaces within the same district. In the morning they work, and in the afternoon, they enact daily life through the purchase of foods from their home country from the exotic supermarket within this area, as seen in Figure 22. At the night or on the weekend, they can meet their friends in hidden pubs, or shop in the First Plaza. Mrs. Wu mentioned that foreign labourers, who are not just foreigners and labourers but also consumers and residents, change their roles from a foreign worker to a local several times in a day or a week in order to interact with different people. As the next section will explore, this shows that there is overlap between their interactions with other groups within the same living circuit. No matter their nationality, occupation or class they all live and act in this circuit that can support different daily life needs and every role they play. These cases illustrate the Chung District's differences from a community or neighbourhood as defined by the theories discussed.

Individuals' personalities shift throughout everyday spaces, which shows how roles change constantly in line with our environment and the people who inhabit it (Goffman, 1966[49]). The field work observation supports this, showing that people in the Chung circuit allow both the existence of 'I' and 'we'. People can meet their personal daily life needs and recognise generalised definitions of community in terms of supporting social life. Within diverse compositions of space, behaviour and groups can exchange their roles. In one space, for instance a five-foot-way, a person could be a local (chatting with others, hanging up clothes, etc.) and a businessman undertaking commercial activities, while at the same time being a landlord to another businessman, such as a vendor. Thus different behaviours mix in one space, causing

different interactions, behaviours and roles. Space is always in the condition of becoming; behaviours keep happening within it to support different identities to exist (Pred, 1996[124]).

As can be seen in the field work diary, the female foreign labourers can play different roles, shifting their roles during the day within different spaces. Moreover, people also can play multiple roles in one space. Because of the conditions of mixed spaces, groups and behaviours, people know more of and intersect more with each other in actual daily life spaces, instead of those social purpose activities that were happened in the designed spaces, such as the public space, a park or plaza. Therefore, they can integrate in daily life naturally. (This will be revisited in sections 7.4 and 7.5.) This shift of role is not just supported by the space, but also behaviour within it. Only the flexible and multiple composition supports the smooth shift of role, a topic to which we will return in *Fragments of everyday life: Integrated and mixed* (Chapter 6). In the Chung District, people use multiple roles to interact with different groups and create networks, increasing the possibilities of inhabiting different roles and the effects of surrounding elements. Furthermore, people change their roles following shifts in the living environment to act appropriately in daily behaviour and social interactions.

Every element is arranged constantly in different compositions, therefore everyone has the possibility to be involved in others' daily lives. Hence, the real meaningful point is to form a flexible and diverse composition of all elements of the living environment, instead of multiple independent elements or fixed compositions. It also points to another key issue: a dynamic operation system cannot be analysed and

supported by one specific element only, but should be observed as a composed entirety, considered as a circuit whose component elements will shift momentarily and elastically in daily life. How those elements connect with and affect each other is an important way of exploring the system's operation. Hence, the next section will discuss the development of rumours to represents how elements inter-relate within a living environment.

3.4 Rumour

This section elaborates on the researcher's impressions of people during the process of looking for a house to let. It explores different feelings and observations made before and after moving to the Chung District. The first impressions are a mix of the researcher's and others' versions of the Chung District, and it became clear that others' visions were partly affected by rumours that had spread in the district. This section describes how rumours affect elements in the district and daily life behaviours of different groups, and then collapses spaces, damaging the area. Finally, it considers how people in the living environment are defined and reformed by the daily life behaviours of different groups.



Figure 22. A mixed commercial and residential house. The first house I looked was above a restaurant and karaoke bar. The ground floor was for commercial use and the upper floors were residential.

In this neighbourhood on the edge of the district, there were residential houses and small stores, such as food stores. When I walked into the house with the landlady, a neighbour was parking his motorcycle. He glanced at the female landlord first and then at me, the stranger. His face showed clearly message that he felt people like me (a young female) should not appear in a place (the house I was there to view) like this, where most residents are labourers, single-parent families or locals whose grandparents already lived here. He parked his motorcycle in front of the bar and walked home, next door. His movements, skilful and coherent, showed that he did this daily. His activity suggested that residents pay attention to their neighbourhood, even though they might not take further action.

I walked into the shop, which was very dark, where a tenant was eating his lunch. He greeted the landlady. It was obvious from his clothing that he was a labourer. We took a lift to the side of the shop and when I walked out of the lift, another labourer who wore the factory uniform walked toward to us. He greeted the landlady and smiled, before going into his room. The room she introduced to me was an old en suite room without windows. It was also the cheapest one of all those I viewed during the field research period.



Figure 23. Different types of houses in the Chung District.

Left: The second house I looked. (The building with light white façade decoration.)

Right: Inside the building.



Figure 24. The house I rented.

During the process of looking for a house to rent, I noticed that the same types of buildings, such as the towers, provide different rents for different groups. Regarding the second house I looked at (Figure 24), its façade looks very old and damaged, and indeed it was over 40 years old, but it was located next to one of the district's main roads. Buildings around it were a mix of entertainment places such as a karaoke bar, guest houses where most customers are prostitutes, pubs, administrative services such as the national electric power company, banks, and post offices. There are convenience stores, night snack stores, bus stations and so on, so that people such as labourers who need to work outside the district and go home very late can also enact their daily life easily. The building was also very old inside (Figure 24, right), and the agency told me that most residents were labourers, working-class couples, single people or single-parent families. There were almost no permanent residents. Because of its location, the rent was slightly higher than the previous property, but still almost 25% lower than the price of the house I rented, where most residents are office workers and students. Residents in this old, tall building tended to develop activities

inside their house, and had fewer interactions in the neighbourhood, illustrating a very classical urban condition. These experiences showed that no matter which kind of groups, their lives are interwoven tightly because of the mixed conditions (see Chapter 7). Furthermore, various kinds of classes and daily life behaviour are interwoven within the same living environment, which was supported by multiple types of houses. Different types of houses and the groups that live there are discussed in 'Fragments of everyday life: Integrated and mixed - Mixed groups and class' (Chapter 6).

Another house I looked at was on the second floor of the First Plaza, notorious for its complex environment and background. Different classes' and groups' daily life behaviours are dramatically interlaced here, and there were often conflicts between locals and labourers, especially foreign labourers⁷ within this area. I walked into the building following the landlord, and its wooden floor made a loud noise with every step I took. The enclosed corridor design kept natural light out. The only light came from the electric lights of each family's windows. Also, on the front door of each family hung a small light, which would be illuminated if someone was home, showing that many houses were empty.

⁷ The common definition of foreign labourers is people who come from other countries to work in Taiwan. The foreign labourers discussed in this research mostly refer to those from Indonesia, Vietnam, the Philippines and Thailand. They work in low-technology, low-salary jobs in Taichung County and nearby counties. Because of stereotypes and different cultural backgrounds and daily life habits, some Taiwanese feel that foreign labourers are aggressive and noisy and have bad hygiene. If they are clustered together and being loud, peoples are afraid to call the police. Therefore, in several parts of the Chung District where foreign labourers act, some residents and businessmen feel that their presence will repel locals or customers. However, the research shows this is based on stereotype and rumour. Also, whether labourers could be so easily removed from local life is doubtful.



Figure 25. The inside of the house in the First Plaza: the corridor.

The whole building smelled of joss-sticks and the walls were sooty. Some residents had opened shops on the first floor and lived on the upper floors. From the length of the corridor, the number of rooms, and how the building was filled of cumulative traces of life, I can imagine its resplendence and liveliness in the past. There are four floors, each able to host about 12 families. The landlord said that the inhabitants who still live in this building have mostly been there for two to three decades. There were several traditional handmade *cheongsam* stores. Many locals in Taichung city still come here to order custom clothes, some of whom have been family customers for several generations.

The landlord also introduced me to the daily life routine of all neighbours. This was impressive because he and his wife do not live there anymore. He told me the *cheongsam* store is located on the corner, and the tailors usually worked until

midnight on weekdays, so it will be safe even if I go home late. By giving me information about inhabitants and their life in this building, the landlord tried to convince me that it was safe to live here alone, because neighbours all know each other. I sensed that he knows the disrepute of the First Plaza and its surroundings.

In the process of finding a house, I received a lot of information – or I should say, stereotypes and rumours – about the First Plaza and the surrounding area. Everyone I met said that this area is dangerous and should be isolated, or redesigned. All my friends who live in Taichung city and locals emphasised that I should not live there or even go there. A local told me “*That is totally a different world.*” The First Plaza is full of foreign labourers who come to act their daily life behaviours or work.

However, the stores and restaurants in the First Plaza and surroundings are run by locals, and so daily life between these groups is tightly linked. The local government is aware of this issue and plans to redesign the First Plaza soon. They had already changed the name to represent a new beginning and had told people that they should try to accept and know each other, especially locals and foreign labourers. However, this attempt to force connections did not bring about further understanding or interaction.



Figure 26. The First Plaza and its surrounding spaces.

Left: The public space in front of the First Plaza. The nearby area contains more daily interactions than the plaza and building itself. Right: The First Plaza building.

A similar situation occurred when I approached the areas around the train station, such as Luchuan W. St. and Chenggong Rd., to observe daily life. Many residents told me not to visit the First Plaza. The most common reason I heard was there are too many foreign labourers and homeless people, making for a dangerous and unpleasant environment. Moreover, plenty of illegal events such as fights with weapons and drug-taking occurred there. I concluded that rumours in and about the area divided groups of the area. In the research process, several residents (interviewees) remembered the initial rumour that caused the abandonment of the First Plaza. In 1995, a serious fire broke out in the West district at the Viacom restaurant, just one block away from the edge of the Chung District. The fire killed 64 people. After that, a rumour of a ghost-ship was spread. It is difficult to find the original source, but people said they saw the ghost-ship fly over the First Plaza, and some psychics said it would take another 36 lives before leaving.

After this, the popular centre of the Chung District started to transfer from the First Plaza to another area in Taichung City, the North district. One disaster happened after another. A department store located only three minutes' walk from the First Plaza was also burned down. Locals and other districts started to be afraid of and avoid the First Plaza and the area around it. For instance, locals and those from other areas did not go there to shop and eat, and students did not go to the KTV or the skating rink after class or on weekends anymore. They cut the First Plaza out their daily life. The manager of the First Plaza set up a mammon temple on the ground floor and tried to convince people to go back, but it did not work. As soon as people's daily lives were disconnected from this area, it was completely dead, even though it had been a popular central area. After this point in time, no residents and outside district customers came to the First Plaza or its surroundings anymore.

Fewer and fewer people visited, and then skating rinks, KTV, hotels, restaurants and shops in the First Plaza and surrounding areas closed. The First Plaza was totally shut off as a forbidden area. The area collapsed very suddenly, from popularity to ghostly emptiness. The more the rumour was spread, the greater the effect. Finally, it was not just whisper and gossip between local people but a public situation (Robert H. Knapp, 1944). The decline of daily activities caused a dramatic collapse of space. After just a couple years, compared to its past prosperity, now the First Plaza and its surrounding area was completely marginalised. Five years later, high numbers of foreign labourers started to come to this vacant area where they played, shopped, and ate with their friends at weekends. They started to build and connect their daily life behaviours to those spaces. Before the first fire, some foreign labourers had visited the Chung

District because of its location and its accessibility, but the number was not as high as the present, and most of them came for needs related to daily life, such as exchanging money and buying phone cards to call home, rather than normal daily life behaviour, social activities or even business. After the fire, a different kind of life culture entered this area, relinking the weak connection of local life and the First Plaza and reconnecting the remaining local shops to the foreigner labourers. People bring business opportunities, and more and more shops and restaurants opened in the First Plaza to serve foreign labourers, and connections were built again within daily life.

Connections of different groups' lives in this area have become stronger, following the increase of new behaviours and groups and the empty area was refilled. However, some rumours rose again within locals, with people saying that foreign labourers fought when they were drunk and took drugs. They told of illegal activities occurring within the buildings, square and surrounding area. This shows that partly locals still lack understanding and have an unconscious hostility towards foreigners. Importantly, this also shows that locals are not willing to accept outsiders from beyond the circuit and oppose change. People worry more that they (foreigners) will intersect their life, rather than considering whether those interactions will be positive or negative. Michel de Certeau (1998) writes of the ghost of the city, which describes the uncanniness hiding in everyday life and affecting urban (spatial) planning. It is an undescribed part of urban life and returns when it finds spaces to attach itself to. In the Chung District, this mythic element almost possessed the area, hidden in stories and expressed in people's behaviours to abandon or occupy spaces. Rumours developed from stories

that hibernated and then were reproduced in daily life where it spread through behaviours, groups and spaces.

Some rumours are created and exaggerated by locals to restrict an area, and to discriminate between interior and exterior to enhance their own territory. To foreign labourers, the First Plaza is a liberated space where they can eat familiar foods and meet friends. For locals, this is an exotic, isolated enclave. Dodd (1958) suggests that rumours spread more easily between people that know each other, rather than strangers. A rumour can be transmitted through more credible sources, imbued with more trust so that recipients are more willing to pass it on to others (Lo and Wang, 2002; DiFonzo, and Bordia, 2002). They are transferred through interior networks and relationships (Robert H. Knapp, 1944). In the Chung District, rumour travelled through social networks, from one group to another, from one level to another, day after day through daily interactions. In other words, the multiple, overlapping groups in the district enhanced the spread of the rumour. In the Chung District, rumours were transmitted between groups that interacted in daily life and then in neighbouring areas. This transferred negative news of spaces and specific groups, further isolating them from local life and illustrating how rumour disrupts daily life connections first, then separates behaviour from spaces, and eventually isolates those spaces. It does not damage the space itself directly, nor set geographical limitations on the space initially. Rumours how locals and groups determine, read and define those spaces and behaviours they see and meet in life and, further, affect their private activities (Johnson, 1986).

The case of the Chung District shows also that people only take note of information that is related to and affects their life, which they will use to their own (group) benefit (Fiske and Taylor, 1958). Specific groups used the rumours of the ghost ship and negative comments about foreign labourers to divide and expel those groups out of their daily life and then the living environment. Rumour accommodates itself into local groups and circumstances very well (Robert H. Knapp, 1944) and affects life invisibly and dramatically. A rumour can collapse a city by affecting people's daily behaviours.

Private concerns will appear in public and reflect public opinion spontaneously (Johnson, 1986; Robert H. Knapp, 1944), and therefore rumours not only reveal underlying private anxieties, but also potential public opinion and issues requiring more attention (Warren and Noel P. Gist, 1951; Robert H. Knapp, 1944). The case of the First Plaza reflects how rumours rise from interior circuits and become public opinion. After the researcher moved in and gradually became part of the living environment and the circuit, I noticed that not all rumours were true. Of course, true is subjective, and depends on different groups' reactions to these rumours. For instance, businessmen and their families who work close to the First Plaza (those who have daily life interactions and connections with the foreign labourers), accept and communicate with them easily. The same is true for families who hire foreigners as nurses, for example. Gradually, those foreigners and the protagonists of rumours connect their daily life to this living environment. Rumours and resistance still exist, but because of daily interactions between locals and foreigners, each knows the other

better, which decreases the negative power of rumours. Increasingly, shops that are not located near by the First Plaza area are willing to employ foreigners.



Figure 27. Foreigners who do different jobs in the Chung District.

Left: 24-hour foreign nurse and their patients. Right: Foreign employees chatting and preparing food in a local restaurant. They all have different extents of intersection or interaction with other groups in daily life. Through these connections, they gain the possibility of involvement in the living environment through daily contact.

Because foreigners develop their daily life in the Chung District, there are services and shops aimed at them, such as the exotic supermarket and short-term rental opportunities. Furthermore, some foreign labourers opened their own shops, moved in and settled. Local government also organised programmes to increase interaction and understanding between locals and foreigners again, such as the Hari Raya Puasa (Eid al-Fitr), Home Country Festival, and Mobile Library (Karaoke) programme.

However, the effect has not been remarkable and usually only foreigners attend, with the exception of some attendees from other districts, young people or members of

NGOs. Locals do not pay much attention to, and do not have will to join in with, those particular activities.

To summarise, the process of rumour here can be divided into several stages. The first is the ghost-ship rumour, which resulted in the disconnection of locals' daily life and the First Plaza and its surrounding areas. This isolated the area from the Chung District as they withdraw. The second stage occurred after the foreign labourers became involved in the First Plaza. Rumours of their bad behaviour attempted to separate two groups' daily lives, setting a boundary between insiders and outsiders within the circuit. However, eventually it failed because it did not completely sever the daily life connections of the space from local lives. There were still daily interactions and intersections between locals and foreign labourers so that their networks remained within spaces. This shows that, in an urban area, stigmatisation and rumour usually starts to affect behaviours first, and then isolate those groups and their behaviour from spaces. Spaces finally become empty shells. Thus rumours can be used as a weapon, the tool of one group to divide other groups from their life, behaviours and spaces. Again, this proves that what defines and forms a living environment is not only space, but also behaviour and groups within it.

This chapter has elaborated on the multiple and diverse aspects of the district that can support its interior space, groups and behaviours. It has considered how these multivariate and flexible compositions satisfy different groups' daily and social needs. It has shown that within the Chung District, there is a system that contains features of community or neighbourhood from which people still can receive social and daily life

support, but without limitations such as inevitable social interactions and fixed roles. Finally, the development and spread of rumours in the Chung District shows how spaces are affected and the lives of groups are divided by daily behaviours. Furthermore, those behaviours and groups can also be affected and limited by spaces they are involved in. They all indicate one point that within the Chung District, the dynamic living environment is formed by not one element only such as space, but also groups and behaviours. They should be considered as an indivisible entity when discussing the formation of a living environment.

This chapter has also explored the features of the Chung District that cannot be explained or captured by any single one theory, since mixed space is formed by all elements within it and their interactions; there is no real master or centre space, but influence is formed by surrounding spaces and groups and their behaviours (see section 6.1). They compose an inseparable entirety, and every element is integral. The most important point is that it should be regarded and discussed as a complete living circuit, within which every influence and feature is subject to the flexible and interactional behaviours of all other elements. All those features of the Chung District can be explained by one new concept formed by the research: the Cultural Life Circuit. The following chapter investigates the concept of the cultural life circuit; how it is different from a community and neighbourhood; its features and composition; and how it forms a self-sufficient, sustainable, dynamic and interactive living area.

Chapter 4 – Theoretical Discussion and Literature Review

This chapter will indicate the relevant theories of current urban development, discussing their advantages and weakness and exploring how they might be considered and practiced in urban (re)development. Moreover, it will indicate the importance of considering time, rhythm and the effect of daily life in the formation of urban areas and local culture, bringing out the construction of the Cultural Life Circuit (CLC) based on these theories and concepts such as Lifescape, Cultural Life Circle and Circuit of Life. The chapter will also explain the distinctiveness of CLC and the use of notions of community and neighbourhood in contemporary urban design, as well as their limitations. Finally, the chapter will further explore features of the cultural life circuit using the observation of the Chung District, considering how it constructs a living and self-sufficient system that supports the existence of diverse elements and their interactions to form the specific local culture (detailed features and operations of CLC will be discussed in Chapter 5).–

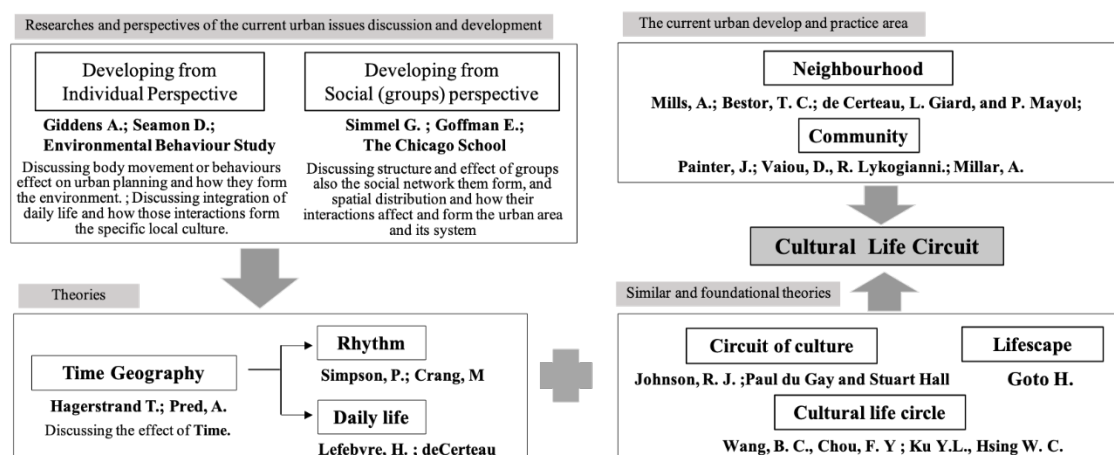


Figure 28. The related and foundational theories relating to the Cultural Life

Circuit.

4.1 Theories of Current Urban (Re)Development

There are two perspectives on current urban issues and (re)development: the view of individual and the view of the whole social system, the diverse groups. The view of the individual lacks consideration of the effect of and effects on social network and different groups, and neglects the interactions between diverse individuals.

Conversely, the view of the whole social system does not consider the power of individuals willing and how individual daily life behaviours can profoundly shape an environment. Within these perspectives, time-geography attempts to explore how every individual acts within a period; the results of their choices; the effect on shaping the environment; and how those diverse results interact within the area to form the whole social network and regional features. Also, how those social interactions in turn form individual behaviours. However, time-geography considers a fixed period of time within a specific space, focused on discussing how a specific path is formed. It does not explore the possibility of the effect of different elements interacting over a continuous period of time. Hence, this research brings in the concept of rhythm, which enhances the importance of how individuals are involved in an area by the sum of bodily movement over time. It also introduces the importance of daily life, seeking to show that every individual use their daily life tactic to modify and shape the environment.

As mentioned, current theories of urban development can be divided into two perspectives (individual and group). This chapter will discuss the view of different groups and issues (effects) such as zoning, to explore how the features of an urban

area be formed. The Chicago School of Sociology has had a profound effect on current urban planning and research in urban development. They discuss the inter-relationship of space and people and how the result affects the forming and development of an urban area. They indicate that space not only constructs society, but also the actors within society contribute (Giddens, 1979). This shows how space affects peoples' behaviours and groups' decision as well as supporting the formation of culture in an urban area. They observe and discuss the formation of an urban area from the point of view of notions such as ecology, the structure of groups and spatial distribution, and how their interactions affect and form the urban area (Park and Burgess, 1925; Simmel, 1972, 1922; Wirth, 1938). This shows that the whole system of interactions between people, groups and the social networks they form constructs the features and style of modern society, as Zukin (2011) mentions. This also shows that the effect of individuals and their summation of their choices should not be ignored, as all elements within society are inter-related.

The chapter also considers the perspective of individual. Related theories practiced in urban design include Environmental Behaviour Study, which focus on how spatial design affects individual behaviours (Gehl, 2011; Alexander, 1978). Some theories explore how individual choices such as bodily movement or behaviours affect and form the environment and culture. Some discuss this from the point of view of the integration of different daily lifestyles constructed by multiple individuals and how those interactions form a specific local culture. For instance, the concept of body ballet explored by Seamon (1980) understands and analyses the forming of society from serial body movement within time-space, forming the time-space routine.

Accordingly, how place ballet constructs the features of the area also helps individual to be involve in an area. Lefebvre (1991a) considers the interactions of individuals and how the meanings of spaces can be created. Furthermore, individuals doing something together is also an important idea. De Certeau et. al. (1998) bring out the concept of strategy and tactics in terms of how individual behaviours and decisions will change the living environment that is planned and designed by professionals also consider the specific local culture. These discussions and theories show that both individual and group perspectives have value, and need to be related to each other. Considering one perspective might lead to a lack of balance in area development because it cannot contain and support different kinds of users' possible choices.

Based on these two perspectives, theorists have attempted to consider various forms of development. Giddens (1984) examined the inter-related relationships of individuals. He discusses how individual lives are involved in different social relationship to form a network and specific culture, which shows that those relationship and culture need to be constructed through time-space, and that individuals need to interact with each other within spaces to confirm the social relationship and the society that he called time-space copresence. Scholarship should not consider just one individuals' effect but their interactions; and not just their behaviours at specific moments in one space, but serial movements across space and time. It is therefore essential to consider both individuals' effects and the results of their interactions with and within groups in developing an urban area. However, even considering both perspectives and their inter-relations, it still weak without considering the effect of time.

4.2 Time-Geography and Rhythm

The following section discusses the concept of time-geography, which mainly explores how individual or specific group choose and act within spaces during a fixed period of time. Accordingly, it can design and predict the possibilities of different interactions, which in turn creates the possibility of forming a social network.

As discussed above, urban theories attempt to explore development from two different perspectives to understand how the society and urban life are formed. Within these notions, time-geography suggests that the effect of time in forming life is also important (Hagerstrand, 1975, 1985). It mainly discusses peoples' serial behaviour across time and space to explore how they affect and form a social culture, as well as providing a way to analyse the relationship of individual decisions, activities and spaces. It indicates that individuals shape their own time-space through continuous actions and events. Everyone's history can be transformed into a trajectory through time and space.

Time-geography views space and time as resources available to individuals to execute a given plan. They also form the limitations of people's behaviours. Within these boundaries, when individuals or groups executed their daily life plan, the specific time-space path is fixed and has its own logic and construction. In addition, different plans will compete those free paths and open space and time (Hagerstrand, 1975, 1985; Jackson and Thrift, 1995). In addition, time-geography discusses how those paths, behaviours and rules of daily life are made and affect the formation of the living environment (Hoppe and Langton, 1988; Pred, 1996). It suggests that all

elements within the same living environment are integrated into a single system, considering all individuals in one area in their entirety and discussing their patterns of paths, rather than why they make choices or how those paths, behaviours and rules might shape the living environment (Hoppe, Langton, 1988; Pred, 1996).

Time-geography aims to find out how the boundary of a system and individual path, boundary is formed, not to figure out interactions and effects, nor how and why people choose and organise paths and co-form the system. This brings out the importance and effect of time, showing that time-geography concentrates on how time and space intersect and result in personal path-forming (Gregory, 1985). Moreover, it limits itself to specific areas and groups to predict choices, interactions and contacts.

Nevertheless, as the observation results of the Chung district show, behaviours are not formed by or limited to one space. Every individual has freedom to choose and to form the environment, to act and select groups they are going to interact with at different times. The unpredictability of this creates a diverse urban life. However, as shown above, time-geography focuses on discussing specific individuals' or groups' behaviours and the forming of paths in fixed areas and periods. It does not consider the effect of different groups interacting, nor how local features are formed by multiple and/or repeated paths over time, within daily life. Time-geography mentions the effect of time, but it does not discuss the idea that local culture and character can also be affected by continuous time.

This then leads to discussion of the concept of rhythm. As discussed above, the forming of rhythms is one of the factors to form a territory and maintains the dynamic

of the area, for example supporting elements to stay in that area. Therefore, the research will bring in the concept of rhythm to reinforce time-geography when considering specific groups, fixed spaces and time periods.

Social homogeneity that builds the recognition or identification between people needs to accommodate interactions to form a consensus, which is built on finding rhythms between them (Carmona, Heath, Oc and Tiesdell, 2010). This can not only synchronise activities but also homogenise objects in spaces affected by diverse temporalities (Lefebvre, 1991a[88]). This is a way to lubricate our social contact and shows that rhythm is also an important issue to maintain the operation of daily life and culture (Lefebvre, 1991b[89]). It enhances the connection of time, movement and space. Moreover, rhythms underscore the solid and consistent character of urban time in politically-dominated space (Lefebvre, 1991b[89]). Every rhythm implies the relationship between time and space: a localised time, a temporalised place. Rhythm is always linked to such a place, whether the movement of a street, or the tempo of a children's game. Any good city has a continuous fabric, rather than a cellular one (Lynch, 1960[104]). Rhythm should be considered as a set of serial interactions with different pauses in spaces. Also, we should not neglect the possibility that different rhythms might interact, as well as considering how they affect and mutually form those spaces, movements and people. This shows that the rhythms surrounding us affect us. We sense rhythm by being involved in it. Recall the case of the game of Chinese chess (Figure 11.) discussed earlier, which shows that rhythm influences both our movement and sense of space. It affects not only urban space but also activities happening in it. The rhythm of the other would be the rhythms of activities turned

outwards and towards the public (Lefebvre, 1991b[89]). Finally, it integrates and connects or combines. How people get along with each other and find a way to fit into a space are all related to rhythm. It is not about sharing, but rather a sense of fitting or belonging.

As Kevin Lynch notes, we experience the passage of time in the urban environment in two ways: through rhythm repetition, and through progressive and irreversible change (1960)[104]. It is not recurrence, but alteration. People who can find resonance with others, the tempo to cooperate with other rhythms, will increase their comfort and security, and be willing to stay in the space. Furthermore, Jane Jacob states that conditions for the generation of exuberant diversity depend on successful streets and people appearing at different times (1961) [70]. They all reflect the main concept of this research that in the forming of an area, all elements will keep realigning and changing to suit different needs and maintain the existence of diverse elements (as will be further discussed in the following sections). To support the operation of daily life, time and space are cannot be considered separately (Crang, 2001, 2005).

Furthermore, a space not only should support rhythms but also allow accidental rhythms to occur in it, stimulating rhythms inside (Simpson, 2008[138]). This shows that the integration of different rhythms and different repetitions of daily life behaviours enhances a diverse and dynamic living environment. It can encourage more interactions between different participants and reflects how the Chung District can maintain flexibility and diversity, precisely because the rhythm and the shifting of the composition supports different elements, encouraging interactions and the formation of local culture.

Before grasping a rhythm, you must be grasped by it first (Lefebvre, 1991b[89]). To feel and perceive every beat of the rhythm and become part of it. You do not learn its grammar or rules, but rather become involved in it, learning by doing. This is called a loop. This also shows that to support the flow of rhythm, the environment and its component elements will not be in fixed conditions, but flexible and changing over time, so that they can create and contain variable possibilities to invite, attract and allow different new interactions. The need to be involved in the rhythm also reflects my research method: I then became a local through participant observation, sensing and observing different rhythms and finally becoming involved in them rhythm. In conclusion, rhythm reflects the concept that when discussing the operation of an urban area, one should not only consider space, behaviour and groups, but also how they interact over time.

Rhythm also can be found in the cultural life circuit (the concept of CLC and its features will be further explored in the following sections). The research observation results show that component elements and their compositions of a cultural life circuit will recompose (not reconstruct) during different periods, both forming and following its specific rhythm. This shows that the idea of circuit is not fixed, but constantly transforming. The next section discusses the related and base theories that support the development of Cultural Life Circuit and how they differ from it.

4.3 Circuit of Culture, Culture Landscape and Lifescape

Before discussing the concept of Cultural Life Circuit, this section will explore three concepts that are similar: the Circuit of Culture, Lifescape and culture landscape, all

of which affected the building of CLC. This section will start from a discussion of Circuit of Culture. Circuit of Culture indicates that the forming of culture is a continuous process, which involve different elements and levels. None of the participating elements or stages can operate and exist alone. It represents the loop and dynamic process of how culture forms (Johnson, 1986). Based on the early version of Circuit of Culture, it indicates the process of production to develop from private to public culture and then back to affect the private (Johnson, 1986). Johnson indicates that the circuit of culture contains four essential development stages: Productions, Text, Reading and Lived Cultures. Text is the object to study of production and reading as product process. After these three stages, the production could be concreted as lived culture and social relation. Following each stage of this circulation, the text could be embodied, also, public production displays raw materials for future readings (Johnson, 1986). Before texts are confirmed, it is independent and speaks for itself, and then be read and consumed by readers (reading), integrates with their social behaviour and create connection, and embodies them into the circuit, becomes lived culture (Johnson, 1986). It shows that Johnson's concept of circuit of culture focuses on discussing the private to the public transformation of the production and how culture (product) be concreted on the process. It constructs the foundation of the approach to analyse the forming of culture and its process. The most important is it indicates that the forming of culture is not in a fixed nor of a short period, instead, it is a continuous, repeated and interrelated process.

After Johnson, Paul du Gay and Stuart Hall (1997) developed the early circuit of culture to include five new elements: representation, identification, production,

consumption and regulation. They focus on how economy (commodities) and cultural meaning be embedded and shaped in the circuit, expressing the interconnected and permeating nature of culture and economy. Within the circulation, every link keeps engaging and inter-related. Paul du Gay and Stuart Hall's (1997) circuit of culture studies the complex relationship between economy and culture. It mainly indicates that contemporary comprehensive economic activities cannot be divided from the cultural phenomenon of the environment. By enhancing that within each stage of the circuit, artificial products will be developed and eventually become part of the culture. Thus, the formation of culture is not beginning of ending, but rather a continuous loop in which every stage is inter-related.

As will be further discussed in the following chapters, when discussing the forming of local culture, we should consider all factors (behaviour, space and groups). The Circuit of Culture discusses how one object or product be can confirmed by different groups as part of lived culture. It has limitations in being used directly to discuss the forming of local culture, since according to the observation results, it is not just involved in one element but multiple elements. The most important and significant difference is that, within the Circuit of Culture, one production (product) is confirmed by groups (reading) at each stage. Within the Cultural Life Circuit, local culture is formed by the overlap and interactions between elements (space, groups and behaviour) over time. To conclude, the Circuit of Culture aims to capture the process by which a product can become a cultural commodity. The observation results and theories discussed above show that regional and local cultures are formed by multiple and diverse elements interaction within repeated patterns of daily life over time. This

is similar to what the Circuit of Culture presents in terms of the forming of culture as a loop or continuous circuit. The difference is that the Cultural Life Circuit indicates that local culture is formed by different elements, which interacting over time to form the culture.

When discussing the cultural life circle, we should also discuss other two related theories: the cultural landscape and the lifescape. They aim to express the preservation of spaces that contain and can represent human regional life. The cultural landscape is the landscape jointly created by human and nature and is related to human living functions. It is characterized by the history and culture of the past (Sauer, 1925), but its relationship with contemporary daily living behaviours is weak. Moreover, cultural landscape-related ordinances are mainly for the protection of cultural property or heritage, rather than references for future construction of living environment planning. Regional behaviours and spaces are thus an expression of the state outcome rather than the spatial interactions undertaken or observed during the process.

In addition, lifescape is more inclined toward consequentialism (Goto, 2008, 2009) indicating that through indirect observation, existing daily life behaviours and spaces can be preserved. By observing the daily life of locals, the local lifescape and characteristics can be revealed, and by strengthening and replicating frequently-used space, the social behaviours and local characteristics can be enhanced, following the principle of environmental setup (Goto, 2008, 2009). Lifescape aims to catch the moment that daily activities happen in spaces, but focuses on static daily life

moments. There is thus a lack of discussion in terms of the relationship of those different compositions and their multiple and overlapping interaction with different elements that also affect the region profoundly, such as behaviours and groups. Moreover, how those compositions change during repeating daily life and thus are subject to change is not discussed. What the discussion above shows is that these two theories explore aspects of how to enhance and preserve regional culture. However, one lacks connection to the present and the other lacks consideration of the variety and change in an urban area. They also do not consider time and the interaction of different factors in daily life. Their main weakness, the lack consideration of effect of time and interactions of multiple elements, is the main point that will be considered in building of the concept of the Cultural Life Circuit.

Practical urban planning and design normally develop from a perspective of spatial design to affect and control people's behaviour. The consideration of individual viewpoints lacks the richness of the inter-related relationships of people and their social network; while consideration of group viewpoints does not account for the effect of individuals **daily life** in forming and shaping the environment. Moreover, both views ignore the profound effect of time, which will support the involvement of different elements and their power to modify an area. As discussed above, time-geography firstly tries to discuss the effect of time in the modern urban area.

However, it considers this only from groups' perspective, within specific areas and fixed time periods. Also, time-geography and the Circuit of Culture both fail to discuss the most important element of forming urban areas and their culture, namely

that all elements should be involved and that account should be taken of the multiple interactions possible over time.

Therefore, to further explore current urban issues, this thesis should construct a concept that considers both individual and group actions and interactions within serial spaces over time, regarding them as indispensable and inseparable elements that form and support an urban area and its culture. This is the concept of the Cultural Life Circuit. The rest of the chapter discusses the concept and features of the Cultural Life Circuit in urban area (re)development, alongside the notions of community and neighbourhood.

4.4 Community, Neighbourhood, Cultural Life Circle and Cultural Life Circuit

The current Asian urban development normally practiced and discuss relies on concepts such as community and neighbourhood. Different definitions reflect different perspectives of discussing and designing urban life. This section explores these two concepts and their advantages and weaknesses; how they are practiced; how they affect current urban development and life; and how they can be used to distinguish the Cultural Life Circuit.

Community and neighbourhood sustain modern society operations and current Asian urban (re)development. A neighbourhood is space in which we extend our interior family space to the outside residential street (Mills, 2007[110]; Bestor, 1985[14]). The neighbourhood is the space where way to connect public space and private space and founded upon it individuals have special social actions and relations within it (de

Certeau, Giard, and Mayol, 1998[28]). The most basic explanation of a neighbourhood is a place in proximity to one's home, produced by serial bond (social) actions such as sharing and supporting that link to your neighbours (Mills, 2007[110]; Vaiou and R. Lykogianni, 2006).

A neighbourhood is involved in not only geographical definitions, but also social direction (Kattan, 1982[76]). It is an extension of daily life that allows individuals to develop social relationships with people who we might call and acknowledge as neighbours in public space. To become a neighbourhood, residents should follow general terms and under-theorised figures of the area (Laurier, Whyte, Buckner, 2001[83]). For instance, by meeting neighbours in cafés or shops, in the process of interaction individuals can learn and observe the underlying rules, such as how they greet each other, or when and where residents meet on weekends. Such daily rules may only belong to this region. This shows that a neighbourhood is an approximate area that supports the building of social networks by creating the possibility of daily life interactions, which form the bonds and fixed social network.

Accordingly, how to maintain and play particular and appropriate performances and roles is important in interactions with neighbours. Following those rules is essential for individuals to easily involve themselves in the neighbourhood network, creating a sense of trust and belonging. Based on a feeling of security, an individual can build up their daily life and connect with others in a predictable and fixed way. It is also the way of neighbours build sense of trust to create further social interactions and receive social support (Middleton, Murie, Groves, 2005[109]). Moreover, it also supports the

operation of inhabitants' daily and social life, which is founded on geographical elements. It is important to learn and follow rules within a neighbourhood, to create further social interactions and networks. There may be social homogeneity and solidarity within a neighbourhood, within protective and defensive boundaries to develop a 'pure' area (Crenson, 1983[18]; Morris, Hess, 1975[112]; Ahmed, 2000[1]). In other words, if people want to integrate into a neighbourhood and receive support, they must follow the rules, play by fixed roles and interact with their neighbours.

Unlike a neighbourhood, a community is not limited by specific geographical relationships; it is a recognised group with a common consensus, activities, and targets. There are two contrasting definitions of community. One is geographical, defining community as based on residence or co-presence in a space. The other is based on a common interest, affinity, ethnicity or identity (Painter, 2012[119]). Community emphasises the collective activities and practices of people who hold the same role. Also, they might undertake common behaviours together during the same period that can build contacts, social networks and support within the group (Vaiou and R. Lykogianni, 2006). Different communities' boundaries are distinct (Guano, 2003374; Mills, 2007[56]; Middleton, Murie and Groves, 2005[109]). This shows that within a community, people may need to follow more limited rules that are built upon common behaviours and recognition. A neighbourhood provides a chance to have encounters and to form a network, leading neighbours to become familiar with each other. This shows that the neighbourhood is limited to and rooted in the geographical area, and the community is formed by common behaviours. Thus, both

neighbourhood and community can increase interaction and activities in an area. However, this also decreases various options and the possibility of bringing in new elements and improving the system. Hence, it is difficult to maintain a sustainable system. This reflects observation of the Chung District, in which it was noted that an environment that can support different needs and maintain the interior flexibility of every element can be flexible to accommodate daily life. Therefore, this shows the need for a concept that contains the advantage of a community and neighbourhood but with less social force and more flexibility and diversity.

In most contemporary Asian countries, urban (re)development has been carried out by the administrative unit of district (區) or village (里), including hardware construction such as spatial design in a relatively big and fixed geographical area, a big neighbourhood. However, through the programme of community empowerment⁸, governments aim to support common behaviours of residents to (re)develop a living area from locals' ideas and opinions. However, as discussed, those two aspects have their own limitations and disadvantages. Urban (re)development that is developed from the concept of community the effect is limited to fixed groups and can only be formed when all elements agree on a common recognition. When (re)development is developed from a neighbourhood, the physical spatial design may remove, demolish and redesign a whole district or geographical area, disrupting groups' life and social

⁸ Community empowerment in Asia countries such as Taiwan and Japan mainly redevelops areas to achieve a better living quality and recognised living area. Its practice scale is normally smaller than a district and processed by residents' cooperation work. For instance, from doing living environment resources research, drawing map, collecting historical stories to build or rebuild a public space together. It aims to increase regional connection and quality of living environment by community common activities.

connections and returning to the old concept of believing in the power of designed spaces. This does not take account of the ideas and opinions of residents, and neither does it explain why the Chung District can maintain the process of daily life and potential social connections without forming a boundary and enclosing the environment like a community does. These theories discussed motivate the research to bring out the concept of the Cultural Life Circuit.

Before discussing the definition and concept of the cultural life circuit, we will briefly explore the Cultural Life Circle. The original definition of cultural life circle is a living environment with homogeneous geographical and psychological recognition. This means that people (by which I still only mean residents, not those who use the area in other ways such as working or doing business) have common recognition of the same living area or 'circle'. They have common recognition of both the geographical (such as agreeing on the geographical boundary of the living environment) and psychological (people feel that they belong to this particular area and have common culture). It is a representation of common behaviours and memories of regional groups as a representation of living culture (Wang and Chou, 2008). It holds that community should be regarded as one entity (Ku and Hsing, 1997[82]). The original cultural life circle attempted to bring out a new definition of a living environment that is outside the concept of community or neighbourhood (Ku and Hsing, 1997). It indicates that an area should be defined by its specific culture rather than by the geographical or administrative area. The concept was extended to follow related research (Wang and Chou, 2008), which attempted to construct a new concept that can be practiced in Taiwanese urban planning, to plan and redevelop an

area based on its daily life and local culture that is recognised by its people, instead of only the perspective of space.

The concept of a life circle aims to replace an administrative area (district) like a neighbourhood. However, the definition of its meaning, composition, scope and how it should be practiced was not clarified. Furthermore, it shows that the concept of the cultural life circle still regards it as a concept extended from the community and regards the groups within it as a fixed entity that act out common behaviours to form recognition during fixed periods. However, culture is extended from daily life interactions and will change with different groups and spaces during different periods. Also, unique spaces are created by interior mental and exterior landscapes (Lynch, Banerjee and Southworth, 1995[96]). This shows the tight and complex relationship of space, groups, behaviours and living culture which the cultural life circle does not consider fully. The most important aspect is their inter-relatability and changeability, as can be seen in the relationship between all elements of the Chung district.

Therefore, if one is going to discuss the formation and operation of daily life within a region, one should also discuss the effect it has on spaces, not only the space's effect on people. Also, the living environ is not defined by a fixed status or a fixed role.

Daily life is processed in time, therefore when one discusses life culture, one should address composition and how those different elements act and change during periods instead of analysing a fixed moment or factor (Lefebvre, 1991a[86]; de Certeau, L. Giard and P. Mayol, 1998[28]). Users can build connections and networks through continuous flexible intersections and compositions. Furthermore, users must keep

improving and modifying the composition and elements to suit different and changeable elements, such as groups within it. This reflects discussion in previous sections about how the Chung district keeps changing and emphasises again that to explore and form a living environment, one should consider all elements as an entirety that will change over time. Those elements form specific living and dynamic living environments and allow people acting within them to feel a sense of familiarity, recognition and trust.

The generalised definition of the cultural life circle means an area that can satisfy a specific local group's daily needs. People within it should act with the rules of common behaviour and recognise others. The circle is the scope of a spatial area formed by a series of activities. The circle has its fixed area, defined by specific cultural activities and geographical area (Xu, 2000[160]; Wang and Chou, 2008 384). The cultural life circle should be the home of residents who share common cultural activities and physical facilities. Its boundary and composition are fixed. (Lin, 1998[103]; Ku and Hsing, 1997[82]). It is noticeable that the cultural life circle here is still related to a community in which fixed groups undertake common behaviours within the same geographical area. This indicates that the cultural life circle is an area in which inhabitants undertake distinctive and different cultural activities from outsiders. Inhabitants participate in the same cultural life and construct the cultural life circle collectively (Lee, Wang and Chen, 2012[87]).

Therefore, community, neighbourhood or the cultural life circle cannot completely explain the complex daily life operation, condition and the forms and relations of

interactions and connections within the Chung District. Therefore, the research requires the concept of a cultural life circuit. This supports interactions that can support daily life and social needs. Moreover, it provides flexible choices allowing different groups to choose to be involved in the recognised area, the extent of their involvement and the roles individuals might play, considering both individuals' and groups' perspectives. The Chung cultural life circuit shows a different operational pattern from a neighbourhood, community or cultural life circle. It can support and form social life within not only neighbouring areas or public spaces, but also other areas of the circuit and spaces that might be public, private, or mixed. It allows people to redefine the boundary of public and private and the meaning of spaces at different times, as well as reflecting how the cultural life circuit considers multiple elements and time.

A cultural life circuit is not like a neighbourhood or community that is defined and fixed in a geographical area, nor composed of specific lifestyles and behaviours during a specific time. It can form flexible social interactions without the limitation of geography or groups. Moreover, a cultural life circuit can support people who live and act within it. They can behave without building social bonds and following rules, unlike a neighbourhood (Laurier, Whyte and Buckner, 2001[83]) where this is necessary to build trust and social support (Middleton, Murie and Groves, 2005[109]). It is also not like a community that needs to form a significant distinction between insider and outsider to build the safety and trust of an area (Guano, 2003374; Mills, 2007[56]; Middleton, Murie and Groves, 2005[109]). Instead, all interior elements and the circuit itself can flexibly change. People can choose and interact with any

other elements they want and need. In a cultural life circuit, all elements can be satisfied and support daily life, social life needs and the shift of roles. Its boundaries (for groups, space and region) are continuously shifting and changing.

One of the additions the CLC makes is including the insights of time geography that considers all the individuals in one area through their pattern of habituated pathways instead of focusing on conscious choices. It discusses how those paths, behaviours and rules of daily life are made and affect the formation of the lived environment (Hoppe G., Langton, J., 1988; Pred A., 1996[68]). It regards all elements within the same lived environment (area) as being integrated into one repetitive, largely fixed pattern. It addresses the animation of places via movement and the role of spatial elements or location as 'stations' for activities, and that those activities may change during the day. The approach thus recognises that the spatial components of the Chung district keep changing their uses and thus their combinations to form different results, different paths, behaviours and rules. Whether touring, walking, shopping or jogging, we observe and practice activities to approach the world we live in. They shape and form our daily life and interactions with the living environment. These behaviours are deeply rooted in our life, our memory, and become part of experience to maintain our social life with others (de Certeau, L. Giard, and P. Mayol, 1998[28]). The Culture Life Circuit looks at the arrangement of spatial elements at different times in different combinations along the daily life path and routine, that express and sustain individual identities, and the coming together of groups through interactions at different times. In other words, one should consider all interactions and inter-relationship of those elements and how the resulting compositions support the operation of the living

environment. This is crucial to understanding the operation of the cultural life circuit, of a lived and indeed living environment.

Cultural geography generally sees local culture as involving the composition of, timeline and habitus that occur around daily life spaces (Lefebvre, 1991ab[89]; de Certeau, L. Giard, and P. Mayol, 1998[28]; Liu, Lu and Chen, 2013[104]). When daily life practices are broken, so too is the local life culture. Accordingly, without daily behaviour, spaces lose their meaning and gradually die. Therefore, preserving both spaces and daily behaviour is crucial to support the operation of regional lived culture. (Lefebvre, 1991b[86]; Norberg-Schulz, 1980[115]). The above discussion indicates that achieving a stable regional life culture should consider and support inseparable spaces, people and behaviour and also their inseparable inter-relationship. To focus only on space and behaviour is inappropriate, since one needs also to consider time, which allows users to build connections and networks within spaces through daily behaviour. When considering the culture of a region, one should start from its daily life, and explore how those daily life behaviour interact in spaces during different times (Lefebvre, 1991b[89] de Certeau, M., L. Giard and P. Mayol, 1998[28]). This is exactly what the concept of the cultural life circuit attempts to bring into focus. The CLC emphasises that the circuit should consider all elements as they are assembled to satisfy different groups' needs. Moreover, it should support the flexibility of the circuit and diverse possibility of mixed and overlapping interactions of every element.

In addition, to combining the importance of daily life and the concept of rhythm

shows in a cultural life circuit how all elements integrate and connects or combines within repeated daily life over time and form the local culture. As discussed above, how people get along with each other and find a way to fit into a space are depend upon space-time rhythms. It is not about sharing but rather fitting or combining that most people do in their everyday life. They all reflect the feature that within the Chung cultural life circuit, at every moment, the composition of elements and their interactions keeps changing. Also, these changes affect every element and create dynamic interactions, inter-related. and interdependent of the circuit.

The concept of Cultural Life Circuit is developed based on the consideration of the interaction of time (rhythm) and daily life. It is partly similar to cultural life circle such as they both point out that it is not only a fixed character of space that will affect the forming and composition of an area, but also by the recognition of people within the area. The main difference between cultural life circle and cultural life circuit is that the latter considers the effect of time (time-geography), acknowledging that daily life is also constituted through a rhythm so that it indicates the forming and definition of an area is not fixed, instead, its boundary and composition will change during and following time. CLC is a flexible composition and diverse summation of every element and their interaction of the circuit. CLC can explain the status of living environment and forming of local culture in Taiwan. CLC represents that local culture is not formed within fixed and specific area neither by specific element such as space.

Firstly, the concept of Cultural Life Circuit first highlights that the essential point to

form a social area is not any single element, such as a particular space, but by the assemblage of elements within it. Second, it indicates the importance of time, the specific rhythm which is formed by sum of serial practices of daily life of all that individuals that participant in the circuit. Finally, it thus shows that when redeveloping an area, the plan should not just address a fixed geographical area, instead, it should be the practices in the area, the circuit that is a flexible composition of places with of multiple boundaries rather than a unified area. For instance, circuits can be linked or overlap (see Figure 31). Therefore, it can support the existence of all elements also their interacted results in forming the local culture of the area

The above discussion shows that the factor of continuous time in forming and considering in the living environment has not been sufficiently recognised in currently existing theories. Hence, one of the main conditions to form a cultural life circuit is through gradual (daily) transformation which is made over time, bringing dynamic interactions and multiple compositions and modification. Within the circuit the pattern is not just a fixed routine, but a dynamic change and continuous recombination everyday. The CLC approach considers both the perspective of individual and their combining into groups through similar practice, using diverse spatial elements and their interactions with both the built environment and other inhabitants in daily life. The dynamic creation and recreation of the CLC through time which brings the possibility of change so that its area and boundary is not fixed or like that of a neighbourhood. The research observation results, which will be discussed in the following sections, show that the forming of regional daily life and local culture

should consider the continuously changing of all spatial elements through time and the resulting interactions within the region.

Overall the cultural life circuit is composed of spaces, groups and behaviours and shaped by their compositions and interactions. It contains some features of community and neighbourhood but has a different set of space-time implications. For example, it supports the acting of daily life behaviours in geographically related areas, but the social connection is not only built by geographical propinquity nor by social proximity or group identity. The figure above shows how within a cultural life circuit, spaces, behaviours and groups overlap and inter-compose within the passage of time. It shows that during different times, behaviours and groups are sustained by and utilise the same spaces, moreover, different combinations of those spaces result in different uses and atmospheres (which will be discussed in section 5.3 and chapter 7), that satisfy different daily life needs. The factor of time reveals a world of continual motion and the re-composition of groups, behaviours and spatial elements within the circuit. During the forming of the circuit, different elements also keep recomposing and overlapping at every moment. They cofound the daily life rhythm of the circuit. The continual changing allows the possibility of serendipitous new arrangements of elements involved in the circuit that then modify it. It shows that a cultural life circuit is a flexible and continually changing entity.

As discussed above the concept of CLC is developed mainly from the Time-geography which consider the effect Time. Also, it receives and combines the concept of current urban research that consider from both version of individual and social

decision in constructing local culture. To further develop and complement the essential of rhythm and daily life, also theories such as Circuit of Culture, Cultural Landscape, Lifescape and Cultural Life Circle to construct the concept of Cultural Life Circuit. It is different from time-geography that discuss in a fixed area and period of time. The CLC consider the concept of rhythm (time) and daily life which also profoundly affect the forming of local culture and indicates that both concepts should be considered in urban regional development. Also, it considers all elements -- groups (people), behaviours and spaces -- and most importantly their combination and interaction in forming the local life and features in a temporally dynamic, evolving pattern. The above sections main to discuss the base theories and concepts of developing Cultural Life Circuit, the next section will represent the observed results which show features of a CLC.

4.5 The observation of the Chung Cultural Life Circuit

This section will explore the observation results of the research and discuss the operation of the Chung cultural life circuit. Observation of the Chung cultural life circuit shows that within the interior cultural life circuit, plenty of elements and their composition have shifted in time to reflect rhythmic features. They are decomposed and reunited again and again by random interactions or regular daily life. Within the circuit, spaces, behaviours and roles all shift like the tide. Each combination contains different interactions and networks of elements at different points, and each combination supports the operation of the cultural life circuit and the needs of

different groups in every shift. A cultural life circuit will not be fixed and, similarly, it changes its form constantly. (Figure 31.)

As shown above, time-geography indicates that in the use of space and time, when one activity is happened, others become impossible (Jackson P., Thrift N., 1995[72]). This shows that each time combination of space and behaviour can create only one specific composition that satisfies the needs of the groups involved in the spaces. Furthermore, at every shift, the composition might be different, which reflects the feature of continuous time that can support diverse elements, maintaining the diversity of the area. Under these conditions, every element can accompany another. This shows that the flexibility and opportunities exist before elements (space, group, behaviour) unite, and that variability exists every time they combine. The result is not ultimately a fixed composition, but the potential for shifting compositions. The lack of any one element will mean the whole does not work.

The research observation results show that the cultural life circuit has five features that support the sustainable operation of the circuit: interior-circulation, multiformity, inter-support (high-interoperability), levelling and redundancy. Interior-circulation refers to the shifting recomposition of the CLC over time. Its interior can maintain basic self-sufficiency as discussed in Chapter 3 (and discussed further in the following sections). Multiformity points out the mixed conditions of the circuit that contain diverse and multiple objects which can support the social and daily life needs of groups. Moreover, it is also the foundation that supports inter-support and redundancy (discussed further in Chapter 6). Inter-support refers to the trait that a

different cultural life circuit will accompany and associate with another, as discussed in Chapter 3 and revisited later in the thesis. It is the reason that the cultural life circuit can sustain operations, because of the support and presence of all elements. Levelling refers to the notion that different groups have flexible choices to play what roles they want and decide who to interact with. Different groups can intersect together and act as they need and want. They can also keep their freedom to choose to be involved in certain spaces, indicating the lack of distinction in the cultural life circuit. Finally, redundancy supports the cooperation of different circuits formed by mixed conditions. The multiformity of the circuit allows diverse spaces and groups to exist, so that when one space is gone or cannot support behaviours anymore, people (groups) can find another approximate space (both approximate in terms of geography and quality) to undertake their life and behaviours.

Within a CLC, its composition and operation is not fixed but continuously modified. It refers to the concept of resilience (Holling, 1973[63]) that when facing the force of change, some elements of the system are sacrificed. For example, as one space is damaged, groups (behaviours) will find other way (space) to fit into, in which to undertake their behaviours and needs and link to the circuit again. The original concept of resilience was developed from engineering and indicates that the balance of system should be kept, maintaining the original conditions in the face of change. The resilience of the ecosystem aims to create a system that can recover and revert to something equivalent to (but different from) its original (Liao, 2013[93]). It does not look to repair or return to the approximate original system, but looks to keep the interior's flexible quality and inter-cooperation, as in the concept mentioned in Figure

29, in which the main idea is to retain the interior re-composition of elements and alternation of time. This shows that the resilience of a cultural life circuit is an opening, continuous modification and transformation of process and status.

Within a cultural life circuit, space should contain possibilities to undertake diverse activities at different periods and be formed by different groups. For instance, the five-foot way contains different activities that are acted by different users. Residents (private) prepare ingredients in the morning; shop owners sell commodities during the day; and there are family (private) activities at night. Each composition represents different living cultures and atmospheres, in addition to the overlapping uses and relationships within them.



Figure 29. Different behaviours (both private or public) undertaken in the same type of space. Left: Public, a restaurant staff preparing food. Middle: Public, a bookstore owner organising and selling books. Right: Private, residents who are also shop-owners watching television.

Living culture is formed by series of stages. It is a continuous involvement of all elements within the circuit. It shows the importance of their multiple and flexible compositions and conjoined effects of every element of the circuit.

This section has primarily discussed the concepts of community, neighbourhood and the cultural life circle. Furthermore, it explored the concept of the cultural life circuit and indicated that it is not like a community. Instead, it consists of synchronously overlapped behaviours and groups interactions within spaces, where every element interacts with others at each shift, varying from minute to minute. In addition, it is not like the neighbourhood where social interaction is bonded and rooted in geographically-related areas or groups. The cultural life circuit is related to daily life, but its construction of social life is not totally dependent on it. It provides a more flexible, indistinct web social interactions and boundaries. Moreover, it indicates the importance of rhythm. Therefore, extending the concepts discussed in this section, the next section will consider the essential features of cultural life circuit, the interior shift (inter-support and redundancy) and how they accompany and connect to each other to form this living environment.

As discussed above, a cultural life circuit is a kind of life circuit that contains and supports diverse and multiple elements, spaces, behaviours and groups to cooperate and to exist in the area. It is not only composed of only economic or social factors. Within it, every element can find and participate in different positions, which will shift over time. Different elements cooperate and benefit and/or benefit from others within the circuit. Because its compositions and boundary will shift in different

periods, its interior compositions will keep modifying to take new elements in to suit to the changing exterior environment. Because the circuit is not fixed, it will keep modifying following the process of time and daily life. It is more like a heliciform that continues toward an endless point as it modifies itself. The cultural life Circuit is not just the sum of paths or spaces, but rather the sum of all elements, behaviours and their interactions. It differs from the current definition of an urban area used in processing planning: it is not like a district, which is composed and formed by space, nor like a community that is recognised by common behaviours or groups. It is a flexible and changeable overlapping conglomerate of multiple circuits, formed by sum of daily life.

It would be difficult and pointless to define how many circuits exist within an area such as the Chung District. The point is how it maintains the dynamics to support diverse elements to exist, allowing all those elements opportunities to choose and be involved in different circuits at different points. To conclude, a CLC is a changeable area which contain all individuals' daily life behaviours within spaces and their interactions with different groups. It is not only composed of one individual's movements or behaviours, but rather multiple individuals' behaviours and interactions within serial spaces during different periods. Every element and every individual will shift and participate in different cultural life circuits that change its compositions and boundaries at different time. All those features and representation of CLC will be further discussed and verified in the following sections.

Chapter 5 – The foundational features of the Cultural Life Circuit

The last chapter discussed the related theories and base theories of the Cultural Life Circuit as well as briefly outlining its features. This chapter will focus on discussing the operation and features, using case studies to reflect on these ideas.

5.1 Operation of CLCs during different periods

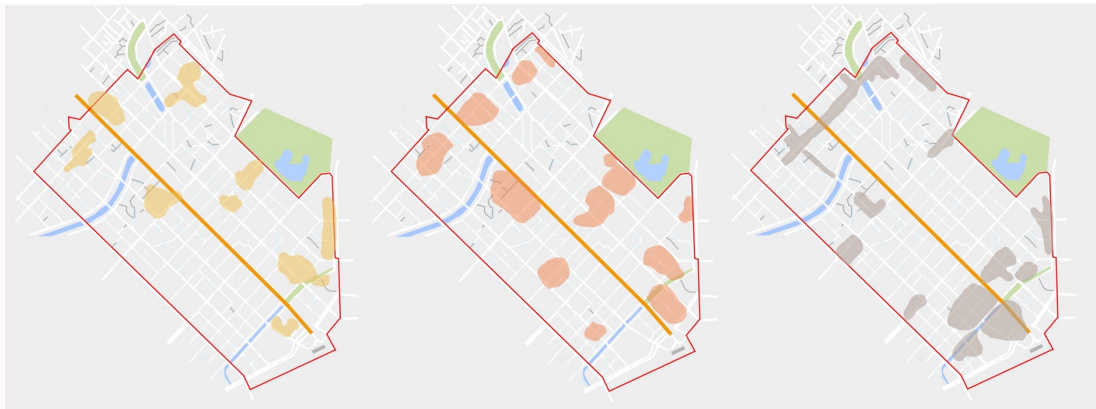


Figure 30. The interior shift of the main (Chung) cultural life circuit.

The above images show a summary of the interactions of groups within serial spaces during different periods of time. From right to left, they represent three different periods in the active area of the Chung Cultural Life Circuit. Yellow represents morning (6am to noon); orange is afternoon (1pm to 6pm); and grey is the night (7pm to midnight). The figure shows that there are several cultural life circuits during different periods. They all contain different elements. This feature relates to the observed result that there are various cultural life circuits being recomposed and interacting during different periods within the Chung district. Those cultural life circuits will ebb and flow over time. Most importantly, they will accompany and complement each other. Each cultural life circuit contains different interactions and

networks during different periods and supports different needs. The following paragraphs consider different cases of cultural life circuits operating in the morning, afternoon and night. The aim is to explore how they appear and disappear, and their interaction, accompaniment and association within the main (Chung) circuit.⁹



Figure 31. Map of shifts in the circuit and photos representing activities. (Zone 10)

In the morning, in the centre of the Chung District, areas located around the Second Market make up one significant and dynamic cultural life circuit. In the very early morning, vendors and storeowners, who are also often residents of the market area, prepare to open their shops before sunrise. At the same time, their families enact daily activities, such as cooking breakfast for children, who eat on the ground floor of half-open shops. People walking by can see this from the outside. Residents who acted around this circuit went to the market to buy ingredients, as did others such as restaurant owners who may have come from other spaces. Meanwhile, located around

⁹ Because cultural life circuits will develop across districts (discussed in the next section) the term ‘main cultural life circuit’ is used to refer to the collective area of all cultural life circuits and to replace Chung District.

this market are business offices (banks, civil service, etc.), in addition to office workers who usually come here to buy breakfast and lunch. During the morning, this area was composed of a series of spaces which contain diverse activities of different groups and behaviours. The Second Market was the core of this circuit, which contains a mix of both dynamic private and public activities. After five o'clock, the cultural life circuit became calm and there were almost no activities, especially commercial activities, and no groups collecting. Most shop-owners of the market went back to enact their private daily lives on the upper floors of their shop. This is a vertical mixed space: the ground floor commercial, and the first floor residential. Finally, the circuit disappears, and others rise.



Figure 32. Map of shift of the circuit and photos represent activities. (Zones 5, 9 and 13)

Around the south-west side of the district is another significant cultural life circuit.

During the morning, there were few (but important) breakfast stores located along the

Chonghua Road. They serve local inhabitants, office workers and labourers. Residents brought breakfast home and ate with their family, or bought it on the way to school. Many people come and go quickly, and those intersecting groups and behaviours form a dynamic environment in this circuit during this period. After noon, this circuit contained fewer daily activities so that its area shrunk, and its shape changed. There were just a few commercial and private behaviours. However, the quiet did not last long, and in the afternoon, around four o'clock, vendors started to pull their stands from storage, in front of some inhabitants' houses or along an alley, to their selling positions. After this, the area of the circuit extended, becoming bigger and stronger (Figure 33.) Vendors collected, and clerks prepared to open shops. Before long, different kinds of people came to this circuit to have dinner after work or school. Following the shift of time, it was as if it were morning again, with residents undertaking private activities in their homes, five-foot-ways, streets and alleys again. Therefore, this circuit was now mixed and contained both private and public behaviours, outsiders and insiders. It became one of the most popular and crowded areas of the main cultural life circuit.

This situation can also be observed in the street section photos (Figure 32), which show the development and shift of active spaces from morning to evening. In the morning the circuit operates major daily life behaviours in residential spaces. Then, the area of the circuit extends to contain more commercial activities in the afternoon. Finally, at night, it becomes bigger and mixes residential and commercial activities. It should also be noted that active spaces were extended and involved in diverse types of spaces and behaviours, which results in the circuit becoming linked to another circuit.

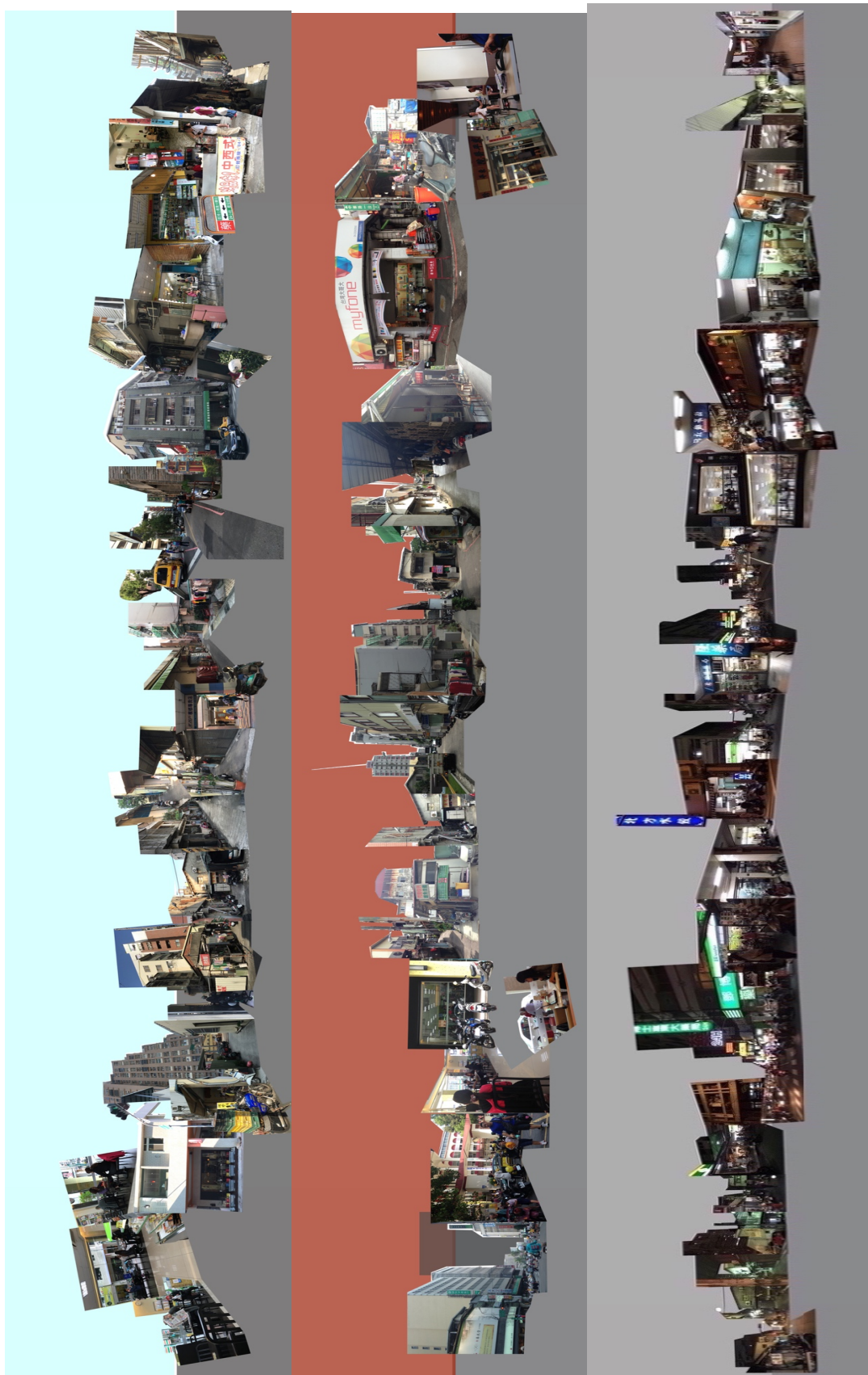


Figure 33. The street sections of zone 5, 9, and 13.

This shows the changes of compositions of different behaviours and occupied spaces over time, showing the constantly changing and diverse compositions undertaken within the CLC.



Figure 34. Map of shifts in the circuit and photos represent activities. (Zones 1,2, 5 and 6)

There was another CLC located on the north-west side of the district. During the morning, there were some breakfast stores and breakfast cars appearing within this circuit. There was also a traditional market on the edge of the district, and several small local shops located around it. Many residents and shop-owners came to purchase ingredients in the morning. On the main road, the orange line, outside the market (just two blocks away) was the strong and significant cultural life circuit mentioned in the last paragraph (Figure 32.) However, very few activities and groups were linked during the morning. In the same circuit, there were several second-hand refrigerator sellers. Workers cleaned refrigerators and residents chatted to each other

during the afternoon. It was quiet and different from other contemporaneous circuits, with fewer commercial activities and outsiders. However, it was dramatically different in the evening. Some vendors came to this circuit to work, the majority of them parking their stands on streets, alleys or residential houses in this circuit. They started to set up their stands, with canopies and lighting, to build a temporary place, a contemporary public kitchen and dining room. The most important phenomenon was that this circuit was connected to the one described above, and united into a bigger and stronger circuit. Until this moment, activities and groups in these two cultural life circuits interacted and overlapped to a limited degree. This now created the conditions in which groups could find more spaces in which to enact their behaviours and needs and had more chances to interact with different groups. These two cultural life circuits cooperated and so do the elements within them.



Figure 35. Map of shifts in the circuit and photos representing activities. (Zones 8 and 12)

There is another significant shift of cultural life circuit in the east of the district. On the east edge of the Chung District is the Taichung Train Station. Cross the Jianguo Road, in front of the station, there is another big cultural life circuit within the main cultural life circuit. In the morning, around the beginning of Taiwan Road, there was a circuit containing some breakfast stores, convenience stores and two breakfast cars, mostly serving office workers, labourers and students on their way to or from the train station (Zone 12). It was a small and relatively pure composition circuit that contained some commercial and private behaviour. At the same time, just two blocks away, there was another circuit that contained residential and commercial activities. There was a traditional market, which is different from the Second Market because it only opens in the morning and is a purely commercial area instead of a mixed use one, so after the morning it closes and disappears (Zone 8). Several foreign 24-hour nurses came to purchase cooking materials, pushing people in wheelchairs around within the circuit. In the afternoon, this circuit started to extend and developed into another circuit. Different kinds of activities showed up within the circuit, such as restaurants, and some workers and foreign labourers came to act out their daily life behaviours.

Later, these two cultural life circuits extended and finally combined. Activities and groups were mixed together, and several new elements became involved. For instance, tourists and students who attended cram schools came from outside this district to enact daily life commercial activities, such as buying dinner from a convenience store or local vendors. Furthermore, smaller local restaurants showed up in streets and alleys. The majority of people here were locals, congregating along the Green River (the blue line) to undertake leisure activities. Meanwhile foreign

labourers came to buy familiar foods in this circuit. These cultural life circuits operated separately and contained different core activities and groups before each evening, and then extended and linked together at night-time. Different groups and behaviours, then, can enact more dynamic behaviours and intersect with multiple groups.

Those cases show that inside the main cultural life circuit, several small circuits operate independently, intervening, overlapping, rising and falling. The composition of the cultural life circuits will shift following time and each circuit can support different groups' needs and behaviours. It also indicates that the cultural life circuit does not aim to build an environment that contains a whole day's activities at constant a high peak as Jacobs mentioned (2000[70]). Instead, it supports every small cultural life circuit and their own rhythms. They do not need to contain behaviours or groups all day, at every moment. The point is to provide the possibilities for flexible composition of different elements to support multiple needs at every moment within the main cultural life circuit and also build the cooperation of every circuit.

Those cultural life circuits do not only operate and develop internally, but also interact with exterior elements, creating connections to other CLCs. Evidently, the cultural life circuit is not fixed like a community or an administrative area; instead, it will change shape in response to different conditions and needs. The spatial boundary is defined by every element and flexible, allowing it to overlap and combine with others to maintain mutual support.

5.2 Crossing Districts and Over-lapping CLCs

The last section showed how cultural life circuits shrink and extend during different periods to support diverse needs. Furthermore, these changes show not only how they can shift following groups' behaviours, but also how they extend, intersect, inter-relate and complement each other. The next section will discuss how cultural life circuits extend and cross the fixed boundaries of territories, as well as how these boundaries might be defined and how different circuits cooperate with each other during these extensions. This research also finds that different cultural life circuits will shift and cooperate with each other, crossing districts and causing overlap in CLCs. The interview results and participant observation results suggest that cultural life circuits might span boundaries of the administrative district, indicating that the boundary is not defined like an administrative division, a district or a village that is fixed and significant, but flexible and formed by daily life behaviours.

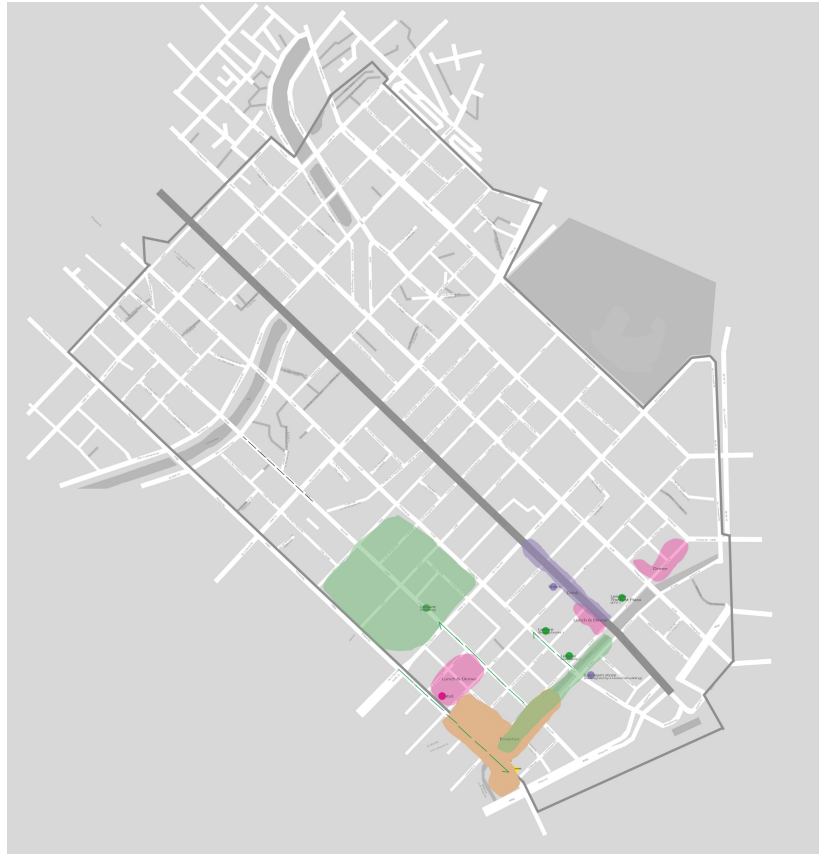


Figure 36. Personal mental map of the whole Chung cultural life circuit.

The personal daily life map shows that people (the interviewee, Wang) participate in different CLCs and form their own daily life territory. The colours represent the area or path in which the interviewees undertake their everyday leisure activities (purple); daily life behaviours such as taking breakfast in a traditional market in the morning (orange); daily life behaviours such as taking dinner or chatting with neighbours in the afternoon time (pink); and leisure behaviours that might be undertaken every day (green).

Figure 37 demonstrates that some interviewees' daily life circuits extend and permeate neighbouring districts, such as the north and west districts. Also, most interviewees answered questions about their daily life active areas in the Chung

district. They named some spaces, and then realised some of them are not in the Chung district. This indicates that people know the boundary of district, but form and define their daily life circuit by daily behaviours and the people they meet.

Many locals and restaurants owners go to the Jian-Guo traditional market to buy ingredients. It is on the edge of the east district that neighbours the Chung district. It is one of the main nodes of many locals' daily life. One local interviewee (Mr Hung) who owns a restaurant in the Chung district, mentioned that after he sends his children to school, he goes to Jian-Guo market to buy ingredients for his family and for his restaurant. After October 2016, the market will move to a new place that is 20 minutes away on foot, but Mr Hung said that he still will go to the market, instead of going to the Second Market even though it will be considerably closer.



Figure 37. The users of the traditional market circumvent administrative limitations.

Many people from the Chung district go to the Jian-Guo market and its surrounding area to purchase daily necessities.

There are four main roads that would usually be regarded by Kevin Lynch as the edges of the district (1960)[98]). They are located on the edge of the administrative boundary surrounding and isolating the Chung district. However, there are still a lot of labourers and office workers who work in the Chung district and extend their daily life behaviours outside this boundary, such as by having lunch in nearby districts (Figure38). People will also cross different CLCs. For instance, some bank clerks, labourers and office workers from Zone 12 go to the Second Traditional Market in Zone 10 for lunch. People rove within different CLCs to enact daily life needs and form daily life patterns through different compositions of elements. This also forms the boundary of different CLCs, which is changeable.



Figure 38. Different groups queued in front of a buffet restaurant.

Locates in the West district, several peoples such as labourers and bank clerks who work in the Chung district come to have lunch here.



Figure 39. Location of the Jian-Guo traditional market: a cross-district buffet restaurant that attracts people from other CLCs.

The above indicates that people move within cultural life circuits to achieve different purposes in daily life behaviours, and that CLCs contain and support multiple elements to meet diverse daily and social life needs to different groups. It also shows that the original spaces that people used to visit can no longer support their behaviour. For instance, if a shop closes, people find other suitable spaces in similar nearby CLCs. This indicates that cultural life circuits that exist at the same time will cooperate with and accompany each other. For example, I buy a cup of drink from a handmade drink vendor every night, and the peddler remembered my order after just two or three interactions. One day, I went as usual, and she chatted with me and told

me that she would not be open the following day, so that I did not make a trip in vain. The vendor said the same to a man who was also waiting for his drink and also seemed to frequent the place. The next day, I went to another drink vendor in another nearby CLC and met this man again. He was also buying a drink and we nodded a greeting to each other.

This case shows that cultural life circles operate at the same or approximately the same period. They contain some similar or homogeneous spaces so people (groups) still can enact their daily life in circuit B when A is unavailable. Similarly, office workers usually pay their bills at lunchtime, at a bank or a post office that is near their office. If these are unavailable, they will go to a convenience store in a nearby circuit instead. This shows that the cooperation of different cultural life circuits forms a self-sufficient system that can flexibly support different groups' needs. If people cannot find a replacement, the fluency of their daily behaviour will be broken, and they must leave their original CLC to find another. Thus, the cooperative nature of a CLC is one of the main pillars supporting their flexible and successful operation. People need multiple, dynamic resources to support them, and therefore multiple elements (not just space) should be considered when discussing the maintenance of CLCs.

Daily life is a kind of left-over: it is piecemeal and unformed (Lefebvre, 1991b[88]). However, nimble and flexible composition allows different circles to be linked in an imperceptible way. Schutz and Luckmann suggest that the customary model of the living world is gradually built over time (1973). The living world is supported by its operating environment and the people within it. Human behaviours construct societal

structure, which is the foundation of social interaction, and human behaviour also reflects and rebuilds those social structures (Giddens, 1984[44]; Bhaskar, 1989[8]). Thus, when a CLC is interrupted, daily life becomes disconnected, and if groups' (people's) needs cannot be satisfied by other circuits immediately, the operation of daily life will be broken.

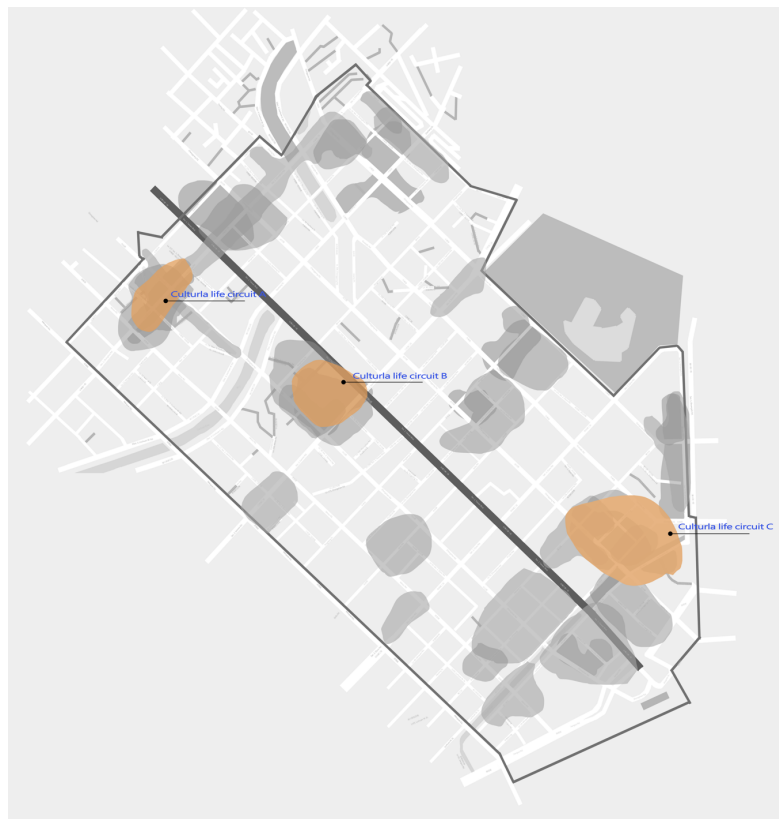


Figure 40. The map of fixed cultural life circuits.

It should be noted that some CLCs are fixed and permanent. They will not shift or fade, but rather shrink or expand during different periods. There are at least three cultural life circuits that match this condition in the study site (A, B, and C, Figure 41). Interviewees mentioned at least one of these circuits when they spoke about which space or behaviour reminded them of normal daily life. They feel that acting in

those spaces is comfortable and their daily life need can be satisfied within these circuits.

Permanent CLCs have some common elements and characteristics. They contain multiple and diverse groups and behaviours at all times. For instance, CLC A, on the north-west side of the Chung district (see Figure 41) contains private behaviours, such as having breakfast in the morning for the locals; private activities; and commercial activities, such as business discussions held by office workers and labourers in the afternoon. There are also commercial activities, such as a night market. It also contains diverse private behaviours within families, for vendors for instance, at home or in front of homes. In this CLC, locals, foreign labourers, tenants, office workers and citizens from outside the district enact different behaviours during different times. They come from different levels and classes, and all are involved in this CLC, which satisfies and supports their life needs.

They also have some common characters, in terms of space, behaviour and groups. Regarding space, permanent CLCs contain mixed-use houses. They are not purely commercial or residential areas, nor are they designed only for public or private use. Some of them are mixed-use in one building. For instance, the Second Market's (Figure 31) ground floor is for commercial use, such as traditional markets, shops and snack-bars, whereas its upper floors are residential. Shop-owners live here with their families, and people (customers) can see owners and their families moving between public and private spaces. The surrounding buildings are also mixed-use. Moreover, this kind of CLC contains different scales of path (road, street, alley) and block

(buildings) design. Each space (building) connects to different scales of paths and spaces, which I will return to in Chapter 6.

In terms of different groups, insiders and outsiders collect within these CLCs. As discussed in section 3.3, roles are diverse and overlapping. For instance, residents could be permanent home-owners or tenants who rent a house and space from a local for business purposes. Different roles create different social connections and interactions through behaviour. Furthermore, multiple and diverse groups are supported by diverse spaces, and accordingly these groups enact different behaviours. Those behaviours are part of a series of normal daily life needs, such as eating, clothing and housing. There are also normal daily life behaviours such as paying bills and sending parcels. In a word, CLCs satisfy the minimum but complete needs of life. Also, they will shrink, extend and possibly combine with other circuits at different times. This is also the main reason that they can support and contain different needs of groups. When need is low, it shrinks; when needs become diverse and higher, it extends. When certain elements are lacking, they combine.

People set boundaries of self and others to identity the existence of 'I' and 'we' (the group) by specific spaces or distinguishing behaviour (Barth, 1969[8]). Every group constructs different boundaries and their consciousness is confirmed by those boundaries. However, in a cultural life circuit, different groups (as determined by class, job, etc.) and behaviours are mixed and integrated, hence the boundary of a cultural life circuit is formed by a collection of daily life activities, instead of any single group or behaviours. The boundaries of a cultural life circuit do not separate

groups, or rather groups who act within it do not sense strong or significant distance from or boundaries between each other. Even if they do, it does not become a conscious estrangement between them and it is not used as the tool of recognition and separation, as in neighbourhoods. In a CLC, people do not look for recognition or identification, but rather search for a harmonious coexistence and flexible choice of daily life and satisfaction of their needs. This is tacit cooperation and coexistence.

This section has elaborated on cooperation in CLCs and how this supports interior self-sufficiency. Moreover, it indicates that the boundaries of daily life are not limited by administrative lines but formed by daily life behaviour of different groups.

Therefore, social connections and interactions are built and connected across districts.

Its shape will shift and modify. Hence, redeveloping an area through spatial

boundaries might easily break the social and daily life connections within it. In

addition, there are some CLCs that will shift shape over time but will not disappear.

These cases show that those circuits all contain some foundational elements, such as breakfast stores, convenience stores etc. that can support the basic daily life needs of

different groups and support the social interactions that develop from those daily life

intersections. Those elements (spaces) are essential not because of commercial

behaviours, but the daily life behaviours and interactions that are developed and

hidden behind commercial activities. They play the essential role of linking the daily

life of home, work and leisure in the circuits and supporting behaviours in spaces. The

next section discusses the features of the foundational node in cultural life circuits and how they support operation.

5.3 Every significant CLC has at least one specific live node

As discussed, cultural life circuits shift during different periods to support different kind of groups and fit different kinds of daily life behaviour needs. As shown above, most big and fixed cultural life circuits contain common types of spaces and behaviours, such as convenience stores, breakfast stores and traditional markets.

Figure 42 corresponds to the phenomena that most CLCs contain at least one convenience store and breakfast store. Those CLCs will not disappear and have more breakfast stores and conveniences stores than other cultural life circuits that will show up and fade away during different periods.

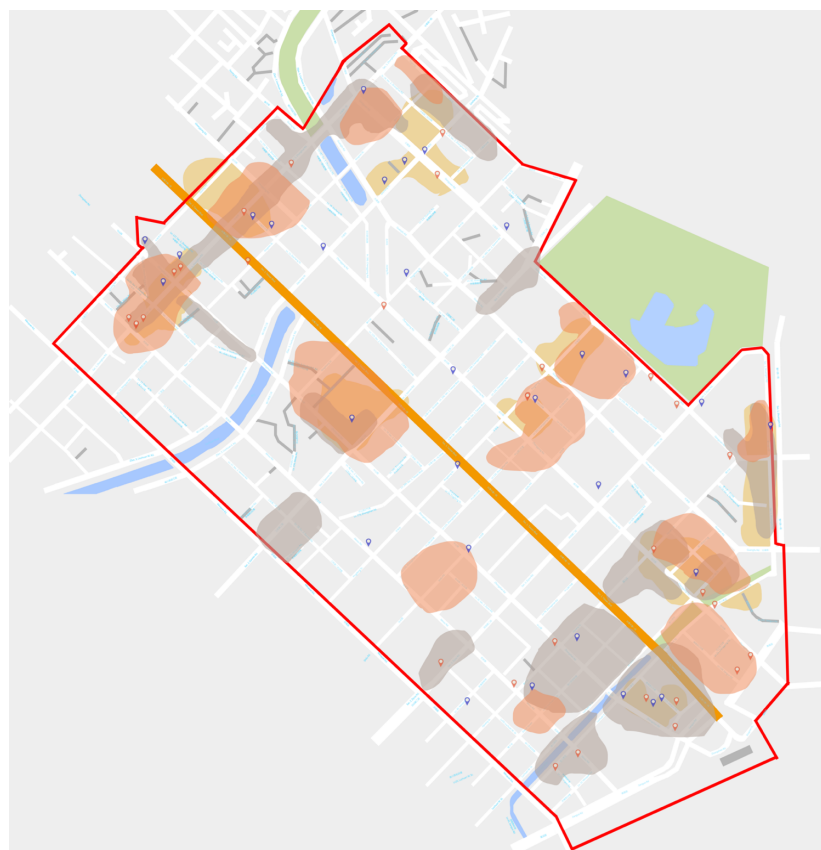


Figure 41. Locations of breakfast stores and convenience stores, in different cultural life circuits (yellow: morning CLC; orange: afternoon; grey: night)



Figure 42. A breakfast store.

An elementary school student was waiting for her breakfast and introducing her Christmas show to the owner. This shows how different groups interact in daily life within the space, which links to their homes and working spaces.

Over 60% of children in Taiwan eat in a breakfast store with their parents or get a takeaway on their way to school (Lin, 2014[92]). Most workers do the same, and some buy food from convenience stores on their way to work. Eating in a breakfast store and behaviours before and after it are all part of their daily life. Those spaces link home and working spaces. Office workers, labourers and housewives all have deep or superficial interactions with owners or customers in these spaces. Even children share their life and stories and build connections with storeowners or other customers. Convenience stores serve a similar function, and many people choose to get breakfast from them, though there are fewer interactions than in a breakfast store.

However, this kind of distance is one of the reasons why the convenience store can be an essential space in an urban CLC, which will be discussed later. Within these spaces, people have harmonious co-existences and silent relationships in everyday life, as the interview below shows:

Yes, [the owner] of the breakfast store will know [me, the customer]. Because I usually go to the same breakfast store and ordered the same dish. [I, The researcher: People easily get to know each other in the breakfast store?] Yes, they all know each other! They definitely do. (Wang, 王靖嵐)

It seems that those spaces are a key switch node between home and working spaces such as offices, factories and schools. Its features are like the Third Space, but they are not identical: the Third Place is a public, neutral space, encompassing spaces such as cafés, bars and shops (Oldenburg, 1989[117]). It is a space in which people can relieve pressure from work or home; it is a place in which people can feel comfortable and enjoy companionship. People care more about who and what activities happen in it, rather than the space itself, or participants or behaviours themselves. Its aim is to provide the possibility of building social interactions and connections. The Third Place contains different and individual purposes, associations and relationships. People go there to meet someone they know for social activities, and those places are elements that help a community come alive. Also, it is an independent space that does not have strong and necessary connections to home or workspace.

However, the convenience stores and breakfast stores I mention above are different from the Third Place. They are undoubtedly spaces where people may enact social

activities, but they are also indispensable spaces for daily life behaviours. Because of its foundational role in supporting the daily life and social life operation of the circuit, let us call this Ground Space. This is not like the Third Place, which supports social activities and is designed to satisfy people's social and relaxation needs before, during and after they see to their responsibilities. The Ground Space is not only for social purposes, but is also a pivot node to support daily life. People go to those spaces for not only social purposes, but also daily life needs such as meals, paying bills and discussing business. Further social behaviours are a positive side effect of the Ground Space. Also, it is more diverse and complex than the Third Space. For instance, within a convenience store, during the same period it can support one person who is reading newspapers and another who is having lunch. For the former, this is an extension of his home; for the latter, it is an extension of work. Neither seeks to fulfil a social purpose, although there is a high chance they might interact socially. Students might go to a convenience store every day after school, have snacks, play games and chat before they go home or go to a cram school. For the former, it is a space to enact social behaviour and daily life (eating) between school (work) and home; for the latter, it is an extended school space.

This shows that the Ground Space does not only support what the Third Place does, to let people create their social interactions and connections, express their true feelings and feel relaxed, but contains more possibilities and functions based on daily life. The Third Place is an outside point that is independent from home and working space, designed for social purposes, but the Ground Space is the connection between home and working space: an essential node in making daily life flow smoothly. It is

involved in each CLC's rhythm and combines with diverse spaces, behaviours and groups. Lefebvre notes that modern society does not need a specific separation of work and leisure behaviours, which means we should not break the flow of daily life (1996[90]). Ground Space aids the smooth the operation of the circuit, to link daily life together. Also, it reflects Lefebvre's point that Ground Space links separate daily life spaces and behaviours within the CLC.



Figure 43. Two students are choosing Oden (a cheap Japanese food in Taiwanese convenience stores) as their after-school snacks.

The concept of the Third Place also indicates that if people attempt to get involved in and receive recognition from it, they need to enact activities (performances) and conversation every day to maintain it. In a Third Place, such as a café, to exchange information and increase social interaction, which is also the main purpose of this type of space, people may pretend that social distinctions do not exist in order to form

their own common language in this space (Sennett, 2003[132]). Conversely, Ground Space can be used for social purposes, but because it extends daily life (mixing daily life and social life) it creates less performance and reduces hierarchy. People can be flexible to choose what roles they want to play, to what extent and what behaviours they want to engage in. They can decide whether they want to develop daily life into social life or not.

Conversation is important issue in a Third Place as a way to win acceptance from other participants. Nevertheless, it does not happen in Ground Space. For example, in a breakfast store, conversation is not the most important activity; rather the way and sense that different people keep each other company each other is more essential, providing a sense of belonging. It also provides the possibility of communicating and interacting, but only if all participants are willing to engage. Ground Spaces share a common characteristic: sharing. Whether sharing information, physical spaces or feelings, they support people to share and be involved in others' daily life. Ground Space accommodates diverse ages, classes, levels and sexualities, whether people are locals or outsiders and regardless of how they look. Even children (students) and the homeless can find a position and enact their daily life behaviour without any disturbance and discrimination. They provide people a space in which to coexist and have social contact. Also, most of them provide inexpensive services and goods, such as food and photocopying. They also are accessible and close to people's homes or workplaces. The most significant difference between a Third Place and a Ground Space is that the latter is not only designed for social activity and leisure life, but is also meaningful for daily life.



Figure 44. A homeless person had a cheap lunch and took a nap in a convenience store.

Ray Oldenburg writes that ‘*The contributions that Third Places make in the lives of people depend upon their incorporation into the everyday stream of existence*’ (1989, p.37[117]). The Third Place becomes a part of people’s daily life, because people allow it to. They will not become part of people’s daily life if people do not participate, it is not indispensable in supporting people’s life. Nevertheless, Ground Space is indispensable. It needs to exist in people’s daily life (circuit) and hence there are several similar types of spaces to satisfy people’s social needs as well. When one space is damaged, another will supplement it, which means people can find similar spaces in which to act their behaviours. According to the four occasions present in a space as described by Goffman, Ground Space mainly provides passive social interaction (co-attention and co-presence) (1963[49]). The unforced atmosphere

encourages active social interaction, co-action and co-exchange in those spaces. The Ground Space and people within form comfortable and flexible relationships and suggest people act from basic daily life needs to further social actions, such as sharing information, talking or collective action.

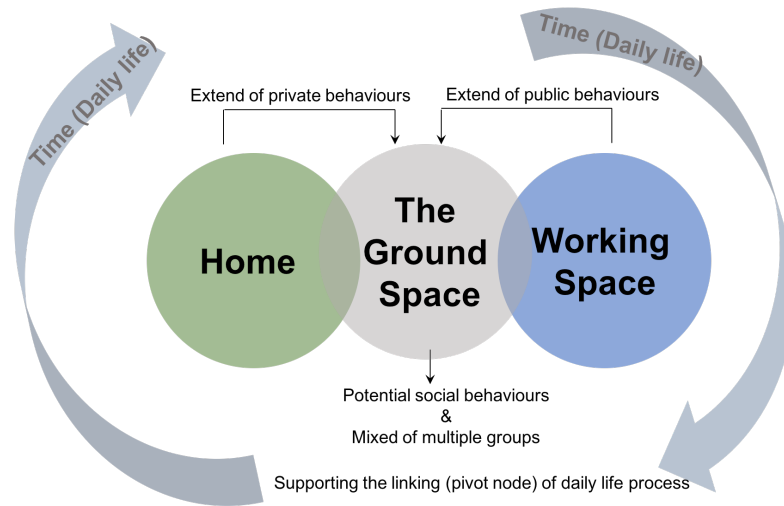


Figure 45. The role of the Ground Space within the cultural life circuit.

To summarise, the Ground Space has two significant features. Firstly, it provides more optional social interactions as its main purpose is not for social or leisure activities, but for daily life needs. This makes for flexibility. Social action is a positive addition that is created by its circumstances and conditions but is not its original purpose. Secondly, it is an extension of home and work, so private and public activities are mixed within it. It also mixes different types of activities and groups, just like the CLC. The Third Place attracts people who already have social intentions and hope to temporarily deviate from their daily life. By contrast, the Ground Space is not designed for social requirements, but they do not contain less social interaction and connection than the Third Place. It develops from daily life behaviours that are

essential for everyone, eventually creating more diverse activities. Strangers act together in a space, but there is no social pressure or tension. These features create the conditions of the Ground Space that can provide flexible choices and willingness to conduct potential interactions. The elasticity of Ground Space suits urban people who want to choose the social distance before they become involved in social interaction and connection. These spaces support multiple daily life behaviours and needs, and social interactions develop from the base of necessary activities. In conclusion, the essence of a Ground Space is in its ability to contain different groups and extend behaviours. Most importantly, those potential further social behaviours are hidden behind daily life and commercial activities. The next section discusses how behaviours, groups and interactions are conducted in different forms of Ground Spaces, and how social possibilities develop from this. It will also show how different groups mix and interact to enact their daily life and social behaviours.

5.4 Case study of convenience store and breakfast store

As established, Ground Space is a pivotal node in daily life operation. Ground Spaces might be replaced but behaviour that acted within it cannot be interrupted. In the Ground Space, there are diverse groups of different ages, classes, and sex, both locals and outsiders. They provide spaces for groups to coexist and create potentially overlapping social contact. Ground Spaces share some common characteristics discussed in this section, such as sharing information and feelings. Social action is a positive addition within it, created by circumstance and conditions formed by all groups and behaviours within it. Also, their composition and behaviour will change

and operate following every shift of the cultural life circuit. The Ground Space the epitome of a cultural life circuit that represents features such as mixing, diversity and inter-relationship. This section considers the interior operations of the Ground Space and how it supports different groups to co-exist and interact.

There are some conspicuous exterior features of the Ground Space. Firstly, they all have connections to locals. Even though most convenience stores are chain stores, most of them modify their spatial design, services and commodities to accommodate different regional needs, or to integrate into the daily life of the wider CLC. Secondly, the scale of spaces is intimate, usually no bigger than two residential houses. Thirdly, they contain more than one function (necessary daily life behaviour, entertainment, services, etc.) and mixed behaviours. This is also one of the reasons they can support the redundancy of the cultural life circuit. When groups cannot find the space they originally used, they can go to a Ground Space. Finally, they are extensions of home, work, or a mix of the two.

Ground Space has two basic types: the convenience store and breakfast store.¹⁰ Each type contains multiple different age groups, different sex, and different classes and these groups co-exist. Table 4. lists all groups and behaviours that happen within the convenience store and breakfast store.

¹⁰ Breakfast stores or convenience stores such as 7-Elevens are different from cafés such as Starbucks in Taiwan. The latter in Taiwan are for social purposes and become a kind of representation of identity that people who work or do business within it are somehow superior or more successful. The former provide items and services at affordable prices.

Table 4. Groups and behaviours in a convenience store and breakfast store

The convenience store		
Groups	Workers: office worker, labourer, other clerk or worker who comes from nearby commercial spaces, residents, homeless people, students and children, vendors.	
Behaviour	Necessary (expected)	Buying necessary commodities and eating
	Social activities developing from necessary behaviours	1) Friends chat and meet. 2) A short break or teatime before students go home or go to cram schools 3) Family activities: eating, buying family commodities, rest node for family stroll, etc.
	Extended commercial or social activities	1) Convenient services - printing and photocopying, paying bills, collecting parcels, withdrawing money, using the toilet. 2) Working: discussing business, doing homework 3) Connection node of workplace or home: office workers come to eat their lunch, etc. 4) Interaction of clerks and customers and between customers: chatting about personal lives, etc. 5) Interaction with neighbouring shops or vendors and neighbourhoods: exchanging money, using toilet etc.
	Leisure	1) Killing time: reading, playing with smart phones, etc. 2) Sharing and receiving information: newspapers, magazines, television, radio, books etc.
The breakfast store		
Groups	Workers: office worker, labourers, other clerks or workers from nearby commercial spaces, residents, students.	
Behaviour	Necessary (expected)	Eating breakfast (Some breakfast stores also provide brunch)

	Extended social activities	1) Sharing and receiving information: newspapers, listening to radio, listening to others chatting. 2) Interaction with strangers: sharing tables, newspapers and magazines, exchanging local information and news. 3) Interaction of the shop-owner and customers, interaction of the shop-owner and locals, giving recycling goods, etc.
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In a convenience store, there are four main behaviours that are necessary (expected): social activities, extended commercial or social activities, and leisure behaviours.

Necessary behaviours are those activities originally expected and designed to happen in those spaces. Furthermore, they support and satisfy different groups' basic daily life needs.





Figure 46. Different groups and classes of people all conduct their daily life within this space. Upper-left: A office worker choosing breakfast. Upper-right: Different groups in one space. Lower-left: Resident buying food and eating it in the store. Lower-right: Student and homeless person sharing one space.

Several social activities, such as chatting and resting, develop from necessary activities. They are usually between customers who already know each other (friends or family members).



Figure 47. Friends chat, hang out or meet in the space. Left: Friends who bought drinks chat and rest. Right: Two men who bought drinks and cookies talking and smoking outside. They came in the store again to dispose of rubbish and use the toilet.



Figure 48. A short break and teatime before students go home or go to cram schools. Students talk, play games, share books and eat with each other. The student in the photo on the right collects his parcel from the store.



Figure 49. People act their family behaviours such as eating, buying family commodity.

Left: A mother taking her children to have some food after school. Right: Parents shopping with their little boy.

The above shows that the Ground Space is an extension of home and work, and also of daily and social life. It contains mixed and overlapping elements within the cultural life circuit. In terms of social purpose, it is different from the Third Place. The Ground Space is the transfer node of daily life and work. Therefore, people acting within it follow common etiquette, but do not need to perform as much as in a social purpose space. Moreover, one of the reasons that it can be a buffer space is because it is an extension of daily life. For instance, from the perspective of students, this space is an extension of school where they can interact with their classmates without the limitations associated with school. Furthermore, they can do daily life activities such as playing mobile phone games. The mixed social and daily life backgrounds decrease

the tension of social-only spaces but spurs the creation of invisible, potentially social behaviours. This atmosphere supports groups to change their roles as they please and act freely.

There are more extended commercial or social activities developed from those daily life behaviours and basic social activities that support further social interactions.

Furthermore, the spaces also support people to work within it, which makes them an extension of the workspace. For example, the rest area and tables in a convenience store are not designed for expected behaviours but create more potential opportunities for intersections and interactions because of the flexible choice for multiple groups and behaviours.





Figure 50. Those convenient services provide more chances for different groups and behaviours to interact. Upper-left: A female vendor (just past the pillar) just used the store toilet and went back to her stand in front of the store. Upper-right: People of different ages pay their bills because it is close to where they live or work, increasing the likelihood of meeting neighbours or colleagues. Lower-left: People collect parcels ordered online. Lower-right: People withdraw money because they feel safe in a convenience store at night.



Figure 51. People who work in the store.

Left: A woman filling out some forms printed in the store. Right: Two undergraduates discussing and doing their reports.



Figure 52. Office workers having lunch together in a store.

The lady was waiting for her colleague who was paying the bill and buying drinks.

Clearly, short breaks and the extension of office spaces allow people to enact daily life behaviours without the limitations of work, reflecting that it is the transfer pivot for different groups to play roles and choose the extent of social activities they want to be involved in.



Figure 53. Interactions of neighbouring shop clerks, vendors and neighbours. Left: A resident purchases a snack and asks for some hot water. Right: The clerk next-door comes to exchange notes for coins.

These photos show that people are willing to come to this space for leisure activities, such as reading or playing on an iPad. I even accidentally heard – which is also a potential intersection that happen normally in those spaces – a woman say that she saw someone knitting in the convenience store (fieldwork record, 24th December 2015 in a FamilyMart, a convenience store). Furthermore, people share and receive information by reading newspapers, magazines or books, watching television or

discussing any of these with strangers sitting at their table.

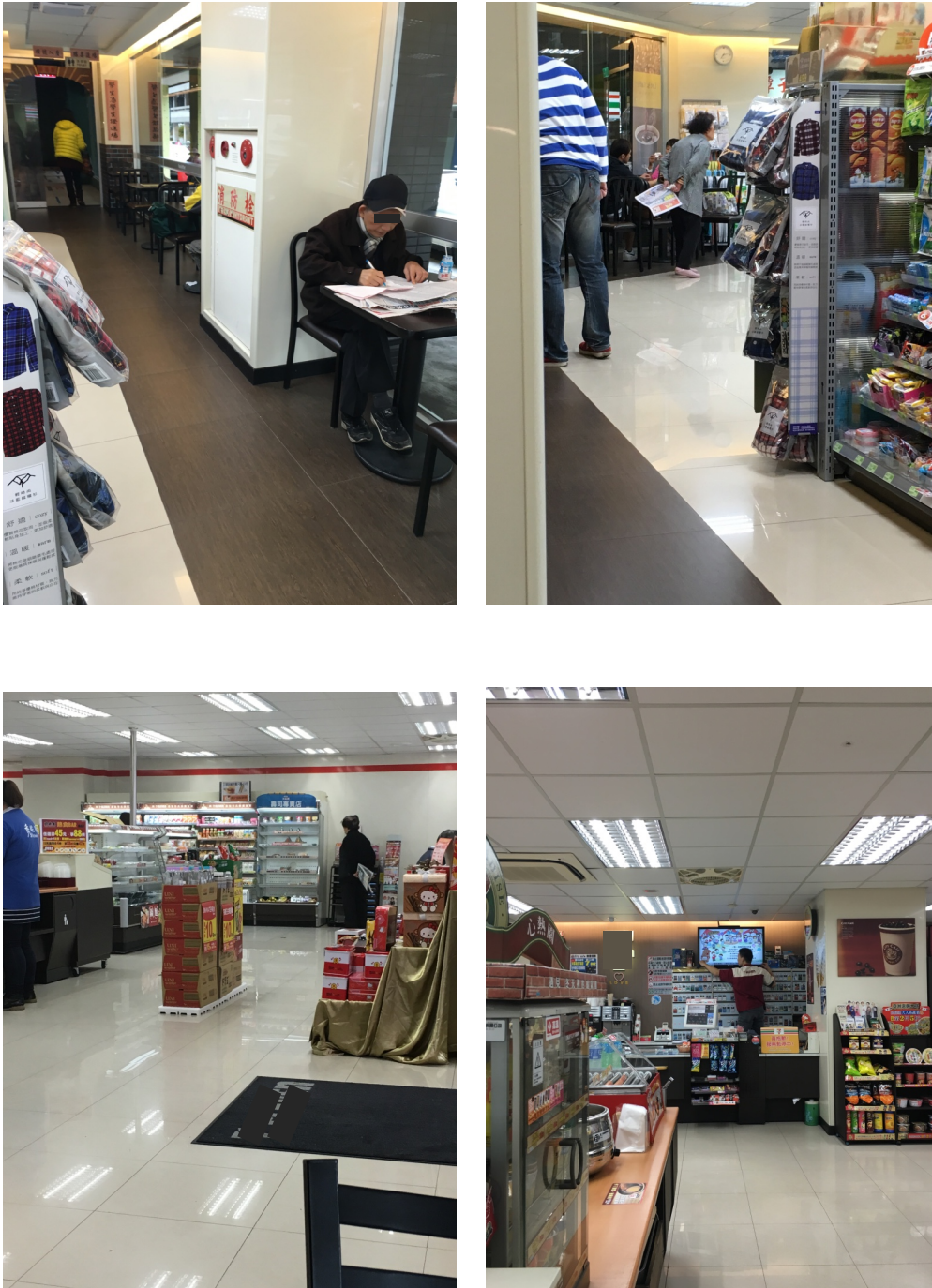


Figure 54. People share or receive information by themselves or from others as a leisure activity in the store. Upper-left: A elderly male resident reading newspaper and taking notes. Upper-right: A elderly woman buying the evening newspaper and walking home, probably as part of her daily routine. Lower-left: A man holding a

newspaper, and reading posters and leaflets placed next to the newspapers. Lower-right: The television shows information and advertisements.

Similarly, as Ground Space, the breakfast store also contains multiple and dynamic groups and behaviours. Because its services are simpler than those of a convenience store, it contains fewer extended behaviours and social interactions. Furthermore, its spatial scale and simplicity encourages deeper and closer interactions. Normally, a breakfast store contains only necessary (expected) behaviours and extended social activities, such as sharing and receiving information, interacting with strangers and between shop-owners and customers. Furthermore, extended social interactions within it involve more locals and fewer unknowns.



Figure 55. Left: Different groups of people eating and waiting for their breakfast.

Right: A boy having breakfast with his mother.



Figure 56. Sharing information. Left: The shop owner reading a newspaper and discussing it with customers. Right: A customer reading new information, posters and leaflets posted on the side of the refrigerator. They show information about local activities and news.





Figure 57. Interactions of the shop owners and customers and locals. One such interaction was giving recycled goods to locals so that they can exchange them for money. Upper-left: The shop owner chats to students and asks about their school life. Upper-right: The shop owner gives an elderly woman some recycled goods so that she can exchange it for money and tells her to remember to return his bag. This action reflects the feature of levelling that is found within a CLC. Ground Space, different groups can coexist and inter-support within daily life. Lower-left and lower-right: The shop owner and his wife chat to different customers. They all show that the breakfast store, as a Ground Space, contains diverse groups and supports further and potential intersection of groups and social behaviours. Its role as a linking point is also demonstrated.

This discussion elaborates on multiple interactions of different groups in these two kinds of Ground Spaces. It also shows how they can support those activities. Firstly, Ground Space provides multiple and diverse choices (commodities) of different prices and types to satisfy different needs of different groups. Secondly, it provides mixed

space. These are not merely commercial but there are seats next to windows or rest areas that allow people to pick a space depending on the activities they want to pursue and how long they wish to be there. It also reflects the concept that they are extended spaces and pivotal nodes for home or work to accommodate both daily life or social behaviours. Thirdly, people within the space have interactions with neighbouring groups such as clerks from nearby shops, offices, or neighbourhoods. It shows that the Ground Space has connections and cooperative relations with its surrounding spaces, whether commercial or residential. Vendors coming to use the toilet and next-door clerks coming to exchange money are examples of enhancements made to the Ground Space as the extended node of other related places. It is tightly linked to and integrated into the environment; part of the CLC. Daily life overlaps here, so the space is not independent. The existence of the Ground Space is important in supporting the operation of the daily life circuit. It provides mixed groups and mixed, overlapping behaviours to enhance the intersection of said groups.

They have different spatial and interaction scales, and share different types of information: the convenience store provides more public, popular information and the breakfast store more regional, personal information. There is also the slight difference that a convenience store clerk will not forwardly interact with customers. It provides a relatively cool and harmonious coexistence in the forms of sharing tables, observing and listening instead of directly engaging with people. By contrast, the interaction in a breakfast store is warmer: customers are more willing to interact with each other and share information, and people can recognise more locals or familiar faces. The conversations between the shop-owner and customers are very personal. Both of them

can be chosen by people, freely depending on which kind of social extent they want to enact everyday. This shows that the convenience store is the Ground Space that supports potential interactions suitable to modern urban pace and the breakfast store is the opposite, maintaining traditional community features.

Ground Spaces maintain flexibility, so that people can choose to interact and be involved in the groups and behaviours or not. They are not like cafés or bars designed for social activities between friends. In addition, exactly because of the mixed conditions in Ground Space, the tension of intersection or social interaction in the CLC is eased. Each Ground Space is replaceable, but the existence of Ground Space in a CLC is indispensable.

This section has explored the features of Ground Spaces and how they can be supported. Their spatial scale is not designed only for commercial use, such as for containing or attracting more customers or increasing the rate of turnover; instead, it considers different possibilities, the use and need of different kinds of life. Therefore, it can support both daily life and social life behaviours and needs, and increase the chances of intersections. Most importantly, it plays a pivotal role in daily life (home) and social (working) life.

This chapter discussed the concept, operation and features of CLCs and Ground Space. It shows that they both have features of cooperation, accompany, flexibility and change. It also suggests that one of the main reasons they can form is the mixed conditions, that can contain dynamic cooperated elements. Mixed here is not only the mixing of space or groups, but also different types of behaviours and their

compositions. The next chapter is going to discuss different kinds of mix and how they create diverse intersections and interactions of daily and social life to support the multiformity of a CLC.

Chapter 6 - Fragments of Everyday Life: Integrated and mixed

The discussion in the last chapter focused on the features, operations and concept of the CLC, exploring how its multiple elements soften the administrative and fixed boundaries, and redefine each individual living environment through daily life behaviours and interactions with others. It further discussed the essential elements that support the formation of features and their operation. During the research process, it was discovered that the CLC creates mixed conditions to support its daily life, social interactions and links. Mixing supports inter-relations (i.e. every individual can find suitable or similar spaces to act out their daily life and needs), multiformity and redundancy (flexible choices involved in others' daily lives). Mixed here does not only refer to mixed space, but also types and functions of groups and behaviours. Moreover, it is not only affected by the mixing of every element but also their composition, and those joint results created by different mixed conditions and elements. This chapter is going to discuss the different mixed situations and compositions of space, groups and behaviours and how their compositions and interactions create internal support and social interactions.

6.1 Mixed spaces

Living in an urban area, people cannot escape the effect and control of spaces; they are everywhere and contain our daily life. The power of space is why many urban planners (designers) develop a region based on aspects of space only, such as New Urbanism. They believe that by forming and designing good spaces one can control, affect and improve people's lives to create a good community that encourages

interaction. However, as discussed in section 4.1, to develop from only the aspect of space is infeasible. Henri Lefebvre notes that a city should support the existence of diversity (1991a). The research results point out that stable daily life should be formed on the conditions that can contain difference and allow the existence of diversity. The flexible re-composition of different elements over time also reflect what Lefebvre writes about how the stable operation of the circuit needs to allow for difference. The research results also show that while space is not the only element, it undoubtedly creates the effect of forming the foundation of the circuit and plays an important role as the carrier to support groups and behaviours. The beginning of this section is going to discuss the foundational effects, different compositions and use of spaces, and how they affect people's daily lives. It will then consider how people use them in different ways to enact their daily behaviours within the cultural life circuit.

Henri Lefebvre indicates three spatial moments that develop in different social moments: spatial practice, representations of space and space of representation (1991a)[86]. The original design purpose of the Chung district reflects the first two moments, showing that the Japanese government attempted to develop the district as a commercial, cultural and educational area, to create a colonial centre with a completely new spatial design. This was also an attempt to support colonialism and capital by space practice and representation of space, as discussed in Chapter 1.

Representation of space refers to conceptualised spaces that planners and technocrat use to find a balance between knowledge and practice, discussing what kind of space form, type and use can enhance positive activities and life. Those related and extended theories that affect and lead spatial design become the major theories in

building modern physical living environment (Gibson, 1979[44]; Brunswik, 1956[14]; Downs and Stea, 1973[32]; Wood, 1971[157]). Planners and designers studied how people react to and are affected by physical spaces, analysing and organising patterns to predict people's behaviour in spaces, and recreate similar spaces to encourage activities. Their contribution to and profound effect on societal spatial design should not be neglected. The theories discussed above show the importance of space in forming the living environment. A habitable neighbourhood is the main issue in current urban development and a lens through which to explore how the Chung CLC operates under the effect of space.

The following paragraphs focus on different kinds of mixed spaces and how they affect and support diverse daily behaviours. The effect of mixed land-use, commercial and residential, in the CLC results in diverse compositions of spaces and behaviours at different times. For instance, the ground floors of single houses located around the Chunghua Road night market are house owners' shops, while some of them are rented to other vendors or businessmen. Different uses provide different levels of encounters. Other people can glance at families' daily behaviour, such as having meals and watching television, as they pass by, and vice versa. Within mixed commercial and residential spaces, neighbours or customers can be involved in others' lives by at least visual contact. They can choose how to be involved directly and easily. The mix of commercial and residential used causes longer operation (occupation) times of space (shop), and accordingly increases overlap of private and public activities, and encounters between people, bringing about further social interactions.

Moreover, the commercially used (public) ground floor that mixes with residential (private) spaces provides more opportunities to welcome people to become involved. For example, vendors working in a five-foot-way in front of the ground floor they rent might chat to other vendors, residents, regular customers and passers-by. Similarly, those vendors and shop-owners, their families and employees also enact their daily life behaviour within and around spaces they rent. The boundaries between their working and leisure behaviours are indistinct since they easily involve other people whether actively or merely through lines of sight. Furthermore, diverse and mixed private and public behaviours formed by mixed spaces create a sense of approachability that allows people to interact with them, providing further interactions and social connections within and between different groups. Locals intersect with vendors' lives and help them to solicit business and introduce products. In one such case, when walking around I heard a local woman promoting the corn of a vendor who worked in front of her apartment, to two young girls. She described it clearly, including the producing area, flavour and mouthfeel. After two girls bought it, the local stayed to chat to the vendor for a while and then went home.



Figure 58. The mixed spaces allow people to glance at shop owners' private life and commercial activities. Left: A child eating in the ground-floor shop and his mother working at the back of the shop where the private residential kitchen is. Right: Customers can see shop-owners work, cook food for sale and engage in private activities such as having dinner on the back of the kitchen.



Figure 59. Interactions of local and vendor. The female owner of the noodle stand turns her face to chat with a female passer-by, a local who lives next to the stand. Meanwhile, the male boss of the noodle stand watches television.

The mix of commercial and residential use also supports the continuous operation of the whole CLC. The mixed use creates overlap between commercial and private behaviours, and supports different groups' needs at different times. Also, those spaces contain different types of behaviours. For instance, within in one mixed-use space such as a shop owned by a home-owner, they might enact usually private behaviours, commercial activities or a mix of both, and then private activities again. Therefore, different types behaviours have chances to intersect and interweave at every moment. Furthermore, not only mixed land use affects regional daily life, but mixed types of spaces, such as apartments, single houses and rented buildings to satisfy different groups' needs. Moreover, mixed land use and operational shifts guarantee that no matter which area of the CLC people live in, their daily life needs are supported through the cooperation of diverse spaces. This reflects the theories mentioned above, such as Gibson's notion of how the space affects and forms people's daily life (1979). This also reflects what Lefebvre and New Urbanism indicate about how spatial design and planning affect behaviours (Lefebvre, 1991)[86]). The living area should support the existence of different, diverse and dynamic daily lives.

The following paragraphs will discuss different kinds of mixed spaces and their compositions in the Chung CLC. It does not aim to analyse its spatial pattern, but the existence of diverse spaces within it, to show the effect of mixed space and to explain

how different kinds and levels of mixed spaces and their connections support daily life in the CLC.



Figure 60. Composition 1. Left: The simplest composition of mixed space: an alley and a residential house. Passers-by can see residents undertaking their daily life at home.



Figure 61. Composition 2. This is both commercial and residential space, which both extends behaviours or visual contact to one space, such as a five-foot-way. Left:

Residents enact both their private (watching television) and commercial (selling bamboo steamer) activities on the ground floor. Right: The shop-owner, who is also a resident, extends commercial behaviours, repairing shoes on the five-foot-way.

It is the order of spaces that comprises different social meanings, not the space itself. Different social activities require specific spatial orders and vice versa (Hillier and Hanson, 1984[66]). This shows how flexible and variable space compositions support and extend different mixes of behaviours, which will be discussed further below.

These figures show that the simplest composition is the combination of a five-foot-way and a house (Figure 61). Residents enact their daily life in their house on the ground floor, and sometime extend onto the five-foot-way. People who pass by might see indoor private activities. The second composition is similar, but the ground floor is used commercially and residentially (Figure 62). The shop-owner, who is also the home-owner, enacts commercial and daily life (family) activities on the ground floor or in the five-foot-way. This is an extension situation, in which the home-owner extends their commercial activities into the five-foot-way. This action causes more potential interaction between residents, customers and other people who pass by.



Figure 62. Composition 3. Composition of one commercial and one residential space.

The vendor rents the place from the owner. Mixed spaces of road, five-foot-ways (mix of commercial and residential) and residential-use areas.



Figure 63. Composition 4. Composition of series of commercial spaces. The mixed space combines ground-floor commercial use, with residents on first floor and above.

Left – PM (normally after 11:30). Mixed spaces of roads, restaurant tables, restaurant kitchen and interior dining area. Right – AM (normally from 4:00 to 11:30). Restaurant staff prepare food in the five-foot-way or indoors.



Figure 64. Different atmospheres in the same space. Left: In the morning, the restaurant is closed. Right: The restaurant opens. The space contains not only private daily lives but also business and commercial behaviours.

The third example shows the composition of one commercial and one residential space, but differs from the second example. The vendor is not the home-owner but rents the space from the home-owner. In this case, within those mixed spaces, those

stands are often small-scale and have a specific operation timeline. Customers and the vendor enact commercial trade, and the vendor and the landlord enact private activities, all within and between these spaces. The fourth example of composition is the whole ground floor belonging to one commercial area, with upper floors in residential use. The back of the house is a mix of private and public use, such as the kitchen. The shop-owners usually extend their shops into the exterior area. They place tables, chairs and sometimes even kitchens on the five-foot-way. This composition mixes and interlaces serial spatial uses that allow commercial and daily life behaviours, such as customers eating and other private family activities, to overlap. These develop from the public space to the interior space or vice versa. It supports different levels of intimacy in activities that mix together. Because it is composed of one commercial and one residential space, upper floor private activities will extend to and be enacted on the ground floor. For example, a mother might cook her children's breakfast in the shop kitchen. After the shop opens, the spaces become more diverse, overlapping with different kinds and levels of behaviours.



Figure 65. Composition 5. Different activities, private, semi-private or public, all mix and intersect within a series of mixed spaces: the road, stand, five-foot-way, restaurant dining area, kitchen (for restaurants or families), alley and residential spaces.

The fifth composition is an extension of the fourth, containing at least two commercial spaces: one mobile space, such as a stand, and another fixed space, such as a shop. Therefore, there is a temporary commercial space, a fixed commercial area and a residential space linked to other residential spaces by an alley or street. Within this composition, vendors enact their commercial activities outside five-foot-ways and beside the roads. Shop-owners undertake their main business inside the building and sometime extend into the five-foot-way, mixing two kinds of commercial use and territory. The five-foot-way might be occupied by a vendor, shop-owners or both. Also, passers-by and customers act between and within the space. At the back of the shop (restaurant) is usually a kitchen or storage, and staff will extend their under-table activities, such as preparing food material, washing dishes and smoking, there. (Figure 67). Some will extend and undertake these activities in back streets or alleys, which link to another residential area. Moreover, if the shop is owned by the homeowner, their family will also enact their daily life behaviour in this area. These mixed and hierarchical spaces create different activities which then intersect, from the large-scale (road) to smaller-scale (street, alley); from public activities (commercial) and semi-private activities (washing dishes) to private activities (hanging up clothes). Therefore, these mixed and connected spaces provide multiple opportunities for mixed behaviours to act and interweave within different groups.



Figure 66. Connections of two back alleys. Left: At the back of the restaurant, staff cook and do chores in the back alley. Right: The back of a restaurant (right) links to residential spaces with some small stores by an alley.



Figure 67. Extensions of commercial behaviours. Left: A restaurant extends their cooking area into the five-foot-way where passers-by and customers also undertake activities. Right: A stand (vendor) and a shop (owner) coexist in one five-foot-way.

These compositions are not presented in order to analyse every type of spatial pattern in the Chung CLC, but to prove their existence and multiple order, from simple to complicated. They also show that mixed space can extend the flexibility of space and allows one space to contain and support different groups and behaviours. These cases also show that the conditions of mixed spaces create specific features. Firstly, different scales of commercial spaces mixed together (vendors, shops and restaurants) create different uses so that different groups all have possibilities to intersect. It also relates to the feature that everyone who lives or acts within the CLC can find spaces in which to satisfy their daily life needs (as discussed in sections 3.2 and 3.3). Secondly, mixed space allows different rhythm to collect and create dynamic movements during different periods in one space. Thirdly, multiple levels of spaces link with each other, such as commercial spaces, alleys, and residential areas, helping behaviours and groups interweave. Fourthly, the location of mixed spaces is composed of different scales and functions, instead of equal and similar spaces. For instance, next to the main road, there are usually large-scale commercial spaces (supermarket, shops, etc.), some temporary commercial small spaces (vendors) and, within streets, smaller-scale (daily) commercial spaces (shops) and residential areas. Furthermore, in the alley, there are vendors, small stores (food, retail, etc.) and mixes of residential spaces. Different kinds of behaviours might happen within and overlap in one space. Finally, it shows that penetrability of body and vision within mixed spaces can increase interaction and play an important role in supporting mixed behaviours and further potential behaviours (for a discussion of the effect of visual contact, see section 7.5). The former represents the consistency of mixed spaces that

allow people to move freely within series of spaces. In this way, people can go from the roadside stand to an indoor shop and to the back of the shop that links to another alley and residential area. The visual penetrability and visual contact increases opportunities for people to see different behaviours and feel involved in different daily lives and stimulate and increase their will to be involved in those behaviours. The mix of different types, scales and functions of spaces – and their multiple compositions and order – creates opportunities for intersection and interaction. Furthermore, it also shows that alternate and mixed spaces promote dynamic and diverse social activities and influence different groups.

Nevertheless, the spaces shown above are more like a chain space that connects to a series of spaces, which reflects the feature of CLC that the essential point is not the active space but how it links to surrounding spaces and behaviours (we will return to this concept in the next section). The space is not the controlling and unavoidable point without which people cannot access another space. It enables people to connect and have visual contact to increase social connections and interactions; it is more like a positive space that can increase the opportunities for intersection and interactions by virtue of its position, function and accessibility, whether visually or physically. It is not designed for public nor pedestrian use; it has its own original daily life purpose, such as the extension of daily life behaviours. People enact different behaviours in these spaces, which makes these spaces places of connection rather than just paths (paths will be discussed more in section 7.6). Thus the main trigger for diverse involvers and increase potential interactions does not only depend on the space itself, but also its surrounding elements.

This section shows that the mix of different land use, scale and form contains different behaviours that enhance the living environment. Moreover, mixed space compositions relink those separated spaces of working, dwelling and leisure, integrating behaviours and smoothing the process of daily life. The most important point is not the results of their diverse composition, but the interactions they support. It shows that different ways of mixing spaces cause different results in terms of spatial effects, and reflects the concept that mixed spaces is just the first stage in promoting diverse and mixed behaviours in a CLC. By modifying behaviours, one can support the operation of different spaces. This differs from the theories mentioned at the outset of this section, in which only designing and planning spaces were considered to form a living environment and affect group behaviour. The next section discusses what kind of intersections occur, how they are supported by spaces and how they cooperate to operate the circuit.

6.2 Mixed behaviours

This section considers how behaviour can be processed within mixed spaces and create social influence and networks. It also discusses how people's daily life behaviours modify spaces. Society cannot be discussed without considering the effect of daily life behaviour, and space also cannot exist without the social system (Hillier and Hanson, 1984[66]), as they are inter-related. As Giddens notes, people exist in different social relationships and are linked by individuals' behaviour (1984[44]). In a CLC, no element exists independently, and this section explores the links between behaviours. Without these links, space cannot be defined, and relationships between

different groups cannot be formed. Michel de Certeau explores how a space affects external spaces through daily life behaviours (1998)[28]. This section discusses how people and their behaviours give and change meanings and forms of spaces. Those theories all represent the two-way effect between space and behaviours, and also how society, the social network, is constructed by the interaction of spaces and behaviours. It indicates that behaviour is not only a subsidiary product of space, but also an important issue to form spaces, to modify them to suit daily life and create social networks. Space and behaviour are inter-related. Different types of social behaviours are formed by different kinds of encounters in spaces (Hillier and Hanson, 1984) [66]. Those theories suggest that if we want to understand the interactions and formation of a society, we should discuss not only space, but also how daily life behaviour processes and forms the space.

This section will discuss different kinds and features of mixed behaviours and their interrelationship within spaces. In the CLC, within mixed spaces, public and private behaviours all act together. For instance, in a public space such as a street, private behaviour such as eating might also happen. The following paragraphs discuss different types and interactions of mixed behaviours and features they create in these conditions. In organising the observed results, one can see three kinds of significant compositions of overlapping and intersecting behaviours processed within the circuit. The first type is private behaviours processed in public¹¹ or semi-public spaces.

¹¹¹¹ The definition of public, semi-public, semi-private and private space will change according to culture and laws. However, there is a common definition of different levels of spaces. Newman (1972)[114]) mentions that the private space contains strong personalisation. People will defend the territory as much as they can. In this research, this usually mean spaces like rooms and other parts of homes that cannot not be seen or entered easily. The semi-private space is privately-owned, but people

Residents enact home (family) activities on the ground floor and extend their behaviours out of their house onto the five-foot-way. For example, people chat, wash dishes or hang up clothes in a five-foot-way. Some residents open their front door so that people can see them watching television and eating inside. Students might do their homework in a five-foot-way in front of their family shop, while they live on upper floors or in the back part of the house. Strangers, friends or families eat in the five-foot-way of a ground floor shop or at a roadside stand together. Vendors and shop-owners enact their normal daily life or leisure behaviours, such as reading newspapers, listening to the radio or taking a nap on roadsides.

might be seen by others. In this research, it might be ground floor space (living room, shop, etc.) of a dwelling. Semi-public space does not belong to the users but they have a feeling of possession. In the Chung District, it might be the five-foot-way, or a back alley. However, in this district, users not only have the feeling of possession, but also have the possibility of using it. Public space means space can be used by individuals and groups, but they cannot have it or personalise it, nor can they claim possession. Back streets, alleys and five-foot-ways are examples of this type. In the Chung District, people and groups also modify and form the space slightly and noiselessly in daily life. This will be discussed in the section on Indistinct Boundaries.





Figure 68. Private behaviours conducted in public or semi-public spaces. Upper-left: A girl doing her homework in front of her home, of which the ground floor is also a shop. Upper-right: Residents hang their clothes on stairs in front of the house. Below: Friends, families and strangers eat together on the roadside.

The second type is mixed private and public behaviours in public and semi-public spaces simultaneously. For example, children might play together in a five-foot-way after school, while their family members worked in shops or undertook domestic behaviours at home, which might link to the same five-foot-way. In this situation, children are taken care of by the neighbourhood, customers and even strangers as well as their families. Shop-owners meet their friends in front of their shop or neighbours meet each other in the street. Staff prepare food and chat with locals or colleagues in five-foot-ways. Those mixed behaviours all modify and define spaces. For instance, as in Figure 69 (below), a vendor might chat to a customer while his daughter watches

television and another customer eats nearby. The physical space is defined by a couple of tables and chairs, the stand, the canopy and lighting, but what forms its atmosphere and allow people to recognise it are behaviours within it. The composition of watching television, chatting and eating makes this space feel like a virtual public kitchen or dining room, a temporary social space which supports private, semi-private and public behaviour. This also reflects the fact that mixed behaviours would be impossible without these mixed spaces, and the spaces need these behaviours to define and complete them.





Figure 69. Private and public behaviour were processing in public and semi-public spaces.

Upper-left: Two children play in a five-foot-way and a woman in green, the mother of one of them, closes a shop. Upper-right: A shop-owner chats with his friend in front of his half-open shop. Middle: Staff prepare food and eat lunch together in a five-foot-

way. Below: A vendor chats with his customer and his daughter watches television.

This composition forms the sense of the contemporary public kitchen that made a public space feel like home. It softens the mixed environment and overlap of private and public behaviours within the cultural life circuit. It provides people the feeling of being involved in the environment and eases the loneliness of living in a city. It proves again that the CLC can satisfy and support people with flexible choices regarding social distance and interaction.

The third type is semi-public behaviour undertaken in semi-private and public spaces.

For instance, in a conveniences store, there are colleagues having work discussions and coffee breaks, and businessmen discussing business with their customers.

Students also have short breaks and enjoy their leisure time after school before they go home or to cram schools. Several shop-owners extend their work from inside the shop to outside. This space contains not only their own behaviour, but also that of customers or passers-by. For example, a stele master does his work in front of his shop-house in a five-foot-way. Most shop owners extend their work into five-foot-ways or streets, such as the lottery shop that places their tables and chairs in the five-foot-way to attract people on their way home from work.



Figure 70. Semi-public behaviour in semi-public or private spaces. Upper-left: An office worker buying a lottery ticket and looking at the news, probably on his way home. Upper-right: A shoe-repair man working in the five-foot-way. Below: A stele master doing his work in front of his house, which is also his shop.

Within these mixed conditions, boundaries between public and private are blurred, which decreases the feeling of being involved in others' private lives. This allows people freedom to enact those behaviours or not, like residents who engage in leisure activities in a semi-public space such as a five-foot-way, or vendors who undertake their daily life behaviours in public. Those behaviours can be allowed in public or semi-public spaces because they are transient and provide a homely atmosphere, as in the case of the contemporary public kitchen mentioned above, where behaviours are not enacted all day but have their own timeline. The limitation of time increases people's tolerance. Also, those behaviours all implicate several different surrounding groups, visually or physically. Therefore, those spectators actually become participants in some way and this will decrease any sense of annoyance. All these features create an interwoven and dynamic environment. Because of mixed and overlapping behaviours, people feel involved in others' lives and gain empathy for one another.

Besides transient mixed behaviours, there are also several instant behaviours that form a temporary or mobile place, such as the temporary kitchen. Those behaviours also show how behaviours define and give different meaning to the atmosphere of the same space. For instance, everyone must wait for the garbage truck to come at a specific time. Every CLC has a specific time for this event. People usually come to a fixed point five to ten minutes early to wait for the truck. Therefore, the waiting point becomes a temporary public social space for people to interact and share and exchange information in. This is also the time for foreign labourers to chat to people

from the same country. Foreign workers are inconspicuous in a mixed background, which makes everyone more or less the same.

Within these mixed behaviours, there are also some behaviours not created and limited by fixed mixed spaces, such as peddlers and waste-pickers. Peddlers and vendors do not have enough financial capital to rent a space, so instead they carry a space of their own, such as a bicycle with a box and wander between different CLCs. When they stop, people collect and then create a temporary place. Mixed behaviours made that the peddler's temporary stop does not draw too much attention. Because those peddlers have their own route and timeline, they also become a noted time point in CLCs: people come to see them and then notice what time it is. Similarly, a junkman becomes a noted time point in CLCs. Junkmen can exist because of mixed behaviours, even though they might not create a place like peddlers do. Just like the collection of foreign labourers, they integrate in mixed behaviours and spaces in a low-key manner to collect recycled goods. The mix of long-term, short-term and instant behaviours thus play a key role in CLCs to create diverse, dynamic living environments.



Figure 71. Temporarily defined space by mixed behaviours. Upper-left: A parasol and a chair define a temporary place for a shoe-repair man. Upper-right: Residents and workers wait for a garbage truck together and make the street corner into a temporarily social place. Lower-left and right: A peddler wanders between different spaces and times, stopping to serve a customer. The space around him and his bicycle becomes a place.

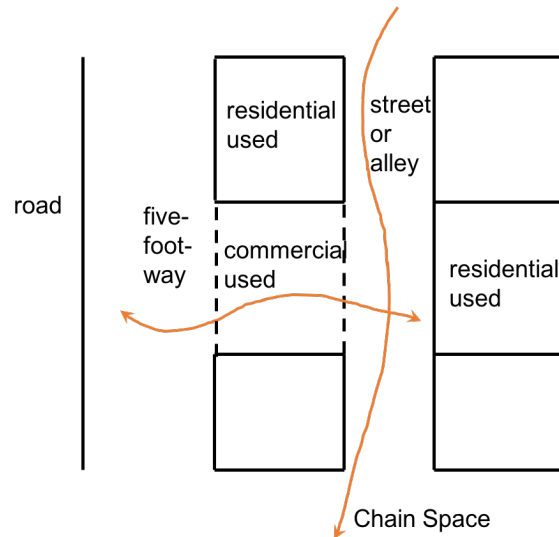


Figure 72. The mixed behaviours happening within mixed spaces.

If we consider a block, the indoor spaces which might be commercial or residential or mixed used, as the X-axis, and there is one serial composition and linking of spaces which forms a Chain Space, the Y-axis, it shows that both axes contain different behaviours. Also, the x-axis space will affect the y-axis space, and its behaviours. For instance, if an x-axis space is a mix of commercial and residential areas (section 6.1, Composition 2 and Composition 3), then the y-axis will contain different activities and social functions at one time. It will contain not only commercial activities, but also private activities such as owners' family activities. This shows that the surrounded connected spaces will affect each other. Moreover, when an x-axis space become more complicated, it jointly makes the y-axis behaviours more diverse.

From a y-axis space (Chain Space), people can have different levels of approaches to the x-axis space, visually or physically. They can see private family activities such as a mother feeding her baby in a purely residential house, or they can walk through a restaurant from the front road to the back street, from one Chain Space to another.

They can see and feel different behaviours from the front space to the back space, from activities such as people waiting in the five-foot-way, a chef cooking in the front of the shop, customers eating inside the shop, staff preparing in the kitchen, an owner's family washing clothes at the back of a shop, or residents chatting in the back street. This indicates that mixed spaces create opportunities for intersection and overlapping mixed behaviours. Also, mixed behaviour affects the creation of different uses of spaces. This dynamic and flexible situation is formed by both mixed spaces and mixed behaviours that form and redefine spaces substantially. The discussion above reflects theories that show how people enact serial behaviours within spaces and use their bodies to extend and shape the living environment and to connect their social networks (Lefebvre, 1991b)[86] ; de Certeau, Giard and Mayol, 1998) [28]; Hillier and Hanson, 1984[66] Seamon, 1980[133]). These theories all support the notion that behaviour is also an essential point in developing an urban living environment.

Another feature that is created by mixed behaviour is the possibility of extended behaviours. Gehl indicates that activities can be divided into three categories: necessary, optional and social (2011[45]). Most behaviours that happen in cultural life circuits are necessary, such as eating and working. Some are optional activities, such as leisure activities that take place in the five-foot-way in front of their home. Finally, social activities might be enacted within mixed spaces and behaviours, such as the intersection of one resident feeding her son on the ground floor and a neighbour passing by, greeting her and possibly developing a further social interaction. This shows that if we want to increase intersection and interaction in spaces, we should

provide more spaces to support a mix of necessary and optional activities to increase opportunities for them to develop into social activities. The quality of space might affect the will of people to stay (Gehl, 2011 [45]), but it might not increase the possibility of interactions. If a space can provide a mix of necessary and optional behaviour to process, then it can enhance the dynamic interactions of the space.

This indicates the importance of daily life behaviours (such as daily economic behaviours, discussed in Chapter 5). Within mixed spaces, people undertake activities that overlap and interweave. Also, one action might come into contact with multiple activities in one or a series of spaces through visual or physical contact. Visual contact refers to the concept that when people see what others do, they might take further action. (Gehl, 2011) [45]. As seen from the cases presented, mixed behaviours allow people to see different behaviours nearby and increase their willingness to have further contact, also decreasing feeling of discomfort at being involved or seen. Moreover, in a situation of mixed behaviour, people shift between three positions: they can be a participant, an observer or suspended, where they might be partly involved in the environment and behaviours by visual or physical contact, but have not decided how deep their involvement will be. Mixed behaviour provides flexibility and contains potential opportunities to develop different interactions.

This section discusses how mixed behaviours cause different interactions and features and how they bring about the possibility of the extension of daily life and social life behaviours. All those cases represent that not only spaces can affect and support behaviours, but behaviours also affect and create behaviours, and modify space. This

shows that mixed behaviours create intersections and social networks, reflecting Michel de Certeau's thoughts on how daily life affects society and designed spaces within it (1998 [28]). Mixed behaviours increase multiple opportunities to link work, leisure and home in these three movements that Lefebvre considers separated in modern life within a CLC. This points out that if we attempt to create a dynamic and interacting environment, space and behaviour cannot be designed and considered separately in the development. All cases discussed above suggest that different composition of behaviours and spaces can have multiple results that affect daily life and the atmosphere of an environment. This section has also argued that when mixed behaviours are undertaken, they surround groups whose position also enhances those interactions. Hence, the next section deals with the conditions of mixed groups in the CLC and how they form a cooperative living environment through mixed spaces and behaviours.

6.3 Mixed groups

Mixed spaces affect people's daily life behaviours, and mixed behaviours intersect in and change spaces. Their interactions and connections co-create the dynamic environment, as discussed previously; this also suggests that groups (people) who act or pass surrounding spaces also affect the environment. They are also an essential element in forming the circuit. This section will discuss how different groups (in terms of class, job, etc.) enact different behaviours within the same or different spaces and how they affect each other.

In a society, interactions between groups can increase benefit exchange and promote flow (Relph, 1976)[126]). As established in section 3.1, 'The self-sufficiency system', there are several groups in cultural life circuits, determined by different jobs, classes and nationalities. From the process of finding a house to let (discussed in the section 3.4 on Rumour), it is clear who will live where is decided by the landlord and the rent. For instance, for the first house I looked at, rent was 25% lower than the average price because of its quality and the area it was in. Accordingly, it attracted people and families with lower incomes. Inside the building, ten to twelve families live on one floor. According to the agent, most residents are couples who just graduated or just married, single families and elderly people. Even the atmosphere of the building seems cold, in which every family develops and act their behaviours at home, alone. It seems that they do not have direct interactions in common public spaces such as a corridor, which is different from a single building in which people enact behaviours in spaces between or within their houses, such as a five-foot-way. However, inconspicuous signs show that there are interactions between residents. For instance, on the floor, the day I visited there were two families who only close their grille door and open their gate so that everyone who passes by can what is happening and they also can see who is passing by. This shows that residents know and have basic trust of each other. This can be formed only when people have basic interactions with each other in everyday life.

Within a CLC, there are serial dwelling spaces that support different groups' needs. They also build their own interactions. The case mentioned in the section on rumours (Figure 23) referred to a house in which the ground floor is a karaoke bar. Several

labourers live in this building. They stay in their room after work and do not interact much. Nevertheless, they have meals on the ground floor in the karaoke bar and gather together. At least within the space they live, they can relax and do not feel alone in this big city. Thus, groups of residents are preliminarily selected by rent so that, in most situations, people with similar incomes and jobs live together. However, mixes of different spaces outside their dwellings guarantee that they will not be isolated inside those houses but have chances to get involved in the CLC.

The research observation shows that diverse spaces (buildings) support the foundational existence of diverse groups and the multiformity of the cultural life circuit. Accordingly, this forms the basis for diverse and mixed behaviours and groups to act and interact. Also, outside those dwelling spaces, mixed spaces provide for of groups to intersect and interact. Cases (sections 6.1 and 6.2) above, such as Ground Space, illustrate that groups can integrate and accompany each other because of those intersections and mixed behaviours in daily life. Even if people (groups) do different jobs, come from different areas and the spaces where they live have already ‘screened’ them, they still have high chances of meeting different people because of those mixed spaces and behaviours outside their house within the CLC. The next part will discuss how different groups integrate and interact in spaces outside their home and interweave in each other’s lives, to show how a CLC supports different groups to integrate in mixed conditions.

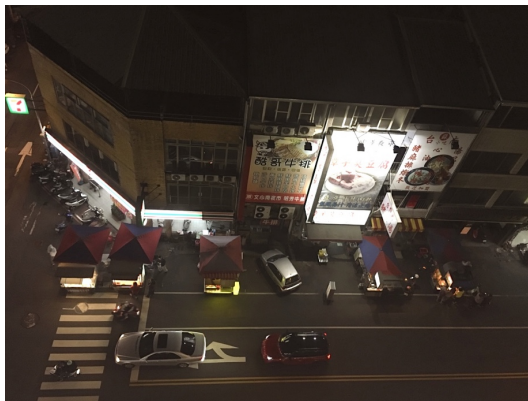


Figure 73. Within the main cultural life circuit, there are several different kinds of dwellings that support different groups.



Figure 74. The social influence of different groups intersects with linked (mixed) spaces.

The interactions and influences of mixed groups can be observed in one section, from a sidewalk to a five-foot-way, which represents how different groups interact within it. Figure 75 shows the section from the main road (Chunghwa Road) to the five-foot-way. Groups acting within it are vehicles, customers, vendors, vendors' employees or families, passers-by and residents. Customers were waiting for their goods and chatting with friends or vendors on the roadside. Vendors were preparing goods and greeting customers, and also cooperating with employees working (cutting spring onions, for instance) next to the five-foot-way. Between the stands and the five-foot-way, vendors' employees or families were preparing materials on tables or parapets. Some of them were also undertaking personal activities such as playing on their smartphone, reading newspaper and so on. Inside the five-foot-way, people went by or into shops (located behind the photographer) on the ground floor next to the five-foot-way. Because of the mixed spaces, vendors' employees greeted passers-by during

their work, and sometime had communication with residents. This case shows how different groups intersect and connect to one another in a space. The case shows that above groups (people) are hierarchies in relationships: they are bosses, employees, customers and potential customers (residents and passers-by). The next case will indicate a more daily and equal relationship and mixed groups situation.

There are different levels of shops located in one cultural life circuit. For instance, within one street, there might be a high-class restaurant, retail shops, a big supermarket and a traditional barber shop that can support high- to low-price purchases to meet daily life needs. They attract different groups to gather, which then enact their behaviours within spaces such as hair salons hanging their towels or restaurants staff smoking and washing dishes in the same alley. Second-hand television-sellers put televisions in alleys, while customers sat and ate within the same five-foot-way in which shop-owners placed tables and chairs. Daily life behaviours also happened at the same time, undertaken by mixed groups. As discussed above, because of the mixed spaces in one street that contains serial different dwellings, integration of different groups' daily life behaviours happens within one cultural life circuit. For instance, residents watered flowers that planted in front of their house and chatted to their neighbours as they waited for the school bus with their children. Families whose living environment is relatively small might hang clothes outside or wash clothes and dishes in a sink in an alley so that they will interact with those people mentioned above. Low-income families collect recycled materials and pile them around and outside their houses and groups also meet when they enact behaviours such as throwing away garbage, waiting for dinner and so forth. Because

of the mixed of spaces and behaviours, different people meet and see other groups when they leave their house or working spaces, and the most important thing is these mixed and overlapped behaviours link their lives together and link home and working space.



Figure 75. Different kinds of behaviours within mixed within spaces by mixed groups.

Upper-left: A resident washes a pot in front of her house in an alley, and a father and his daughter, who are also residents, pass by. Upper-centre: An elderly person with a lower income sorts recycling materials in front of his house. Upper-right: Staff hang up towels between the traditional salon and neighbourhood noodle-vendor. Lower-

left: A family hangs their clothes up in the alley where a child's bicycle is parked beside them. Lower-centre: A female resident takes clothes out of the washing machine in the back alley. Lower-right: The second-hand televisions shop-owner and his family undertake daily life inside the shop.

These conditions support and maintain the diversity of the CLC and support diverse groups to flexibly satisfy their daily life needs. One group that particularly benefits from mixed groups is women. Taiwan has worked on sexual equality in working and domestic environments for several years, but most housework is still the responsibility of wives, mothers or grandmothers (Lan, 2017[86]). Their daily life behaviours are fragmentary, and several behaviours might need to be acted simultaneously and overlap during in a short period. During daily life, they must deal with different groups within spaces. All those behaviours need to be acted continuously, fluently and efficiency. To achieve to this target, a cooperative and tightly-linked living environment (system) is essential. Working mothers were 44.38% of the total workforce in Taiwan in 2016 (National Statistics, ROC, 2017)[113]). A working woman with children might wake up, wake up her children and buy breakfast for them from a breakfast store or convenience store in advance. Mothers who cook themselves must go to markets and buy ingredients in the early morning or the day before. After finishing breakfast, they accompany children to wait for the school bus or walk to school team (路隊) in front of houses, or take them to school personally by car or motorcycle.

During this period, they might also pay bills in a convenience store next to the breakfast store while waiting for food. Some of them might pay bills during their lunchtime in a convenience store, post office or a bank near to their workplace or where they eat lunch. After work, some of them collect children and buy food from markets or supermarkets near home. Most buy dinner on the way to pick up children or go home. Some of them go home first and then send children to cram school, before waiting for the garbage truck. Between these activities, between working and dwelling spaces, they also need to undertake daily chores such as buying daily necessities, sending clothes to laundry and posting parcels. Mixed spaces can support them to finish their work efficiently, again reflecting the importance of Ground Space in linking the daily life of the home and workplace. Mixed spaces enable people to switch roles at different times, proving how mixed spaces and behaviours support the existence of diverse groups and help daily life to proceed smoothly.



Figure 76. Overlapping activities between a woman's working and dwelling spaces.

Left: A mother buying breakfast and taking her daughter to nursery. Right: A mother buying dinner with her children before walking home together, presumably somewhere nearby.

There is another kind of group classification worth discussing: origin. As discussed in the section on Rumours (section 3.4), foreign labourers suffer particularly with this. Initially, locals in the district segregated foreign labourers. They might have lived in the same or overlapping areas (mixed spaces), but they did not have overlap in their daily behaviours. For this reason, they did not know each other. Gradually, more and more foreign labourers moved in and acted in the CLC. In this way they began to have mixed and overlapping interactions in life.



Figure 77. Foreign labourers operate the store and stand, serving foreign labourers and locals. Left: The sign is in both Mandarin and Vietnamese. Right: Different groups eat together at an exotic food stand while the owner chats to customers. This

space supports and enhances the social interactions and connections of different groups, such as foreigners and locals, within their daily life behaviours.

Regardless of why they moved there, foreigners' daily needs, such as restaurants increase, and then related services increase. Among those services, some are operated by locals, and some by foreigners themselves. Shops that are operated by locals hire foreigners and so when locals go to the shop, they interact with them. Foreigners who operate their own shops have more interactions with other people. Their stands (the space) become the key location for encountering other groups. Daily commercial trading can increase interaction and understanding of different groups within the same cultural life circuit. For instance, signs and menus use two languages, and using these stands may be a little like a daily life performance on street to attract people to learn about a different culture through its daily life behaviours. Also, when those (foreign) vendors work on the streets, this allows people to observe and interact with them. Everyone in the CLC can view other people's lives and has the opportunity to become involved in them.



Figure 78. The exotic supermarket attracts both foreigners and locals.

Within the interaction of different groups, visual contacts and potential extension of physical intersection are key to support different groups to integrate. In the case of foreign labourers, they not only interact with people in the spaces they work, but also in serial spaces during daily life. For example, they purchase materials from the local market, or rent from locals. Therefore, they follow the specific timeline of this CLC. All these compositions of spaces and behaviours and interactions of groups supports foreign labourers to gradually and steadily integrate into local daily life.

So far, we have discussed interrelation and the results in mixed spaces, behaviours and groups. Mixed spaces support mixed behaviours, and mixed behaviours affect the formation and use of spaces. Moreover, mixed behaviours create opportunities for the existence of mixed groups, and different groups enact different behaviours in series of spaces to enhance the living environment. They form spaces and give them meaning.

These three elements support the intersections and compatible actions within the CLC. In terms of space, a CLC contains multiple mixed spaces that provide different rental prices, and prices for other necessities and leisure items. Similar spaces cooperate to provide 24-hour support of different daily behaviours. This also supports people with different jobs, incomes and nationalities. Similar groups mix and live together and understand each other's daily life needs and behaviours. Outside home, different types, functions and forms of space allow everyone (groups) to find appropriate spaces to express and extend their daily behaviours. During the enacting and intersection of behaviours, behaviours also define and create spaces, just like the case of a temporary kitchen put up by night market vendors. Moreover, mixed spaces and behaviours support the existence of mixed groups and allow groups to enact their daily life smoothly and efficiency by shifting their roles freely (see section 3.3).

The figure shows that, in the same CLC during the same period, every small CLC contains different groups (see the left-hand side of the figure). The right-hand side shows that, within the same small CLC during different periods, spaces are occupied by different groups and behaviours. They are all mixed, intersecting and changeable. Also, this shows a CLC can contain and support multiple behaviours at different times to enable different groups to encounter each other.

The sections above show how mixed conditions affect and support people's lives and the environment. It also points out the importance of the effect of combining space, groups and behaviour in forming and supporting the operation of CLCs. The last three sections indicate the importance of space (Gibson, 1979[44]; Brunswik, 1956[14]; Downs and Stea, 1973[32]; Wood, 1971[157]), of behaviour (Giddens, 1984 [44]; Hillier and Hanson, 1984 [66]; Seamon, 1980[133]) and of groups in forming the living environment. It also proves that the formation of a dynamic environment is not based on any single element, but on all of them as they cooperate, link, inter-relate and overlap. Furthermore, this chapter attempts to demonstrate that urban (re)development should consider the importance of interactions. Therefore, the next section discusses the importance of all these elements in regional development. It also addresses how they support multifunctionality and inter-support in a CLC and why these should be considered in current Asian urban (re)development.

6.4 Mixed housing and mixed social behaviours

Both spatial and social (behaviour and groups) aspects, and especially their re-composition, are important in the processing of regional life. This section considers

the importance of space mix and social mix. Contemporary urban development and design focuses on how spatial design affects social behaviours and relationships, and how to control and form networks and systems with spaces. As discussed above, mixed spaces not only affect behaviours within it, but also affects and increases the possibilities of further social interactions. Social behaviours and interactions between different groups also affect and change the form and type of spaces (Duneier, 1999[32]). Daily life behaviours act on spaces to create living atmosphere and modify how spaces are used.

Examples used in this research indicate that good spatial design and diverse spaces can bring about potential and positive social interactions. Likewise, multiple behaviours can affect the vitality of spaces. Therefore, neither can be neglected in the building of a daily environment. A CLC should contain not only mixed housing, but also socially-mixed spaces. There are two features of social mix in a cultural life circuit. Firstly, the social mix forms conditions that support personal role changes to occur flexibly at different periods. One interviewee, Mr Hung, describes his normal daily life:

The first place I use of a day, of course is my home. It is a mixed-use house that combines a home and a shop. Then I take children to their schools.....on the way back home, I go to a traditional market and buy ingredients for both home and shop use. After arriving home, I start to prepare and open the shop. (Hung, 洪)

This short description shows that the interviewee shifts his roles quickly early in the day within serial spaces. First, he is a resident (a local) and a father who prepares

breakfast and sends his children to school. Second, he is a shop-owner and a local, and also a customer who visits the market. Finally, after he returns home, he is a businessman. This shows how within the CLC there are multiple levels and types of mixed spaces to support people's different behaviours and needs. This further supports the aforementioned shift in role. The following diaries of two parents and their daughter show that they have multiple identity shifts in a day:

Usually, we go out [from their home] at 7:30 in the morning and arrive to home after 11:00 at night.....there [the home] is just like a hotel, and here [shop, a restaurant] is the working place where we stay longer than home..... we usually buy food materials [for shop use] on the way to the store from home. (Mr. and Mrs. Wu, 吳)

I went to work at about 8:00 in the morning [in a hospital]. After work, at about 5:00 to 6:00 in the afternoon, I usually go to my parents' shop [the restaurant] to help them. Most of my activity (private or work) area is close to my parents' shop. (Miss Wu, 吳)

Thus, interviewees shift their roles within the same cultural life circuit because of the mix of groups, behaviours and spaces. Moreover, people can shift their roles flexibly so that they have more opportunities to interact with different people (groups) in spaces during different periods (Figure 80).

Secondly, within a cultural life circuit people also play different roles and enact different behaviours with different groups at the same time. For instance, in a night

market a vendor could be a businessman, a parent, or a family member more generally when their children or families visit the stand to help or enact their private behaviours such as doing homework. A vendor could undertake trading activities in front of the stand, but they could also enact personal or family activities like playing on a smartphone. They could also help their children with homework on the other side of the stand. The vendor could also be considered a local, with their stand on the five-foot-way in front of the ground floor of a house they rent. Evidently, their roles in the CLCs are diverse and fluid. This is due to the different mixed conditions within the circuit. In turn, this further enhances serial and overlapping interactions with different people and situations in various spaces.

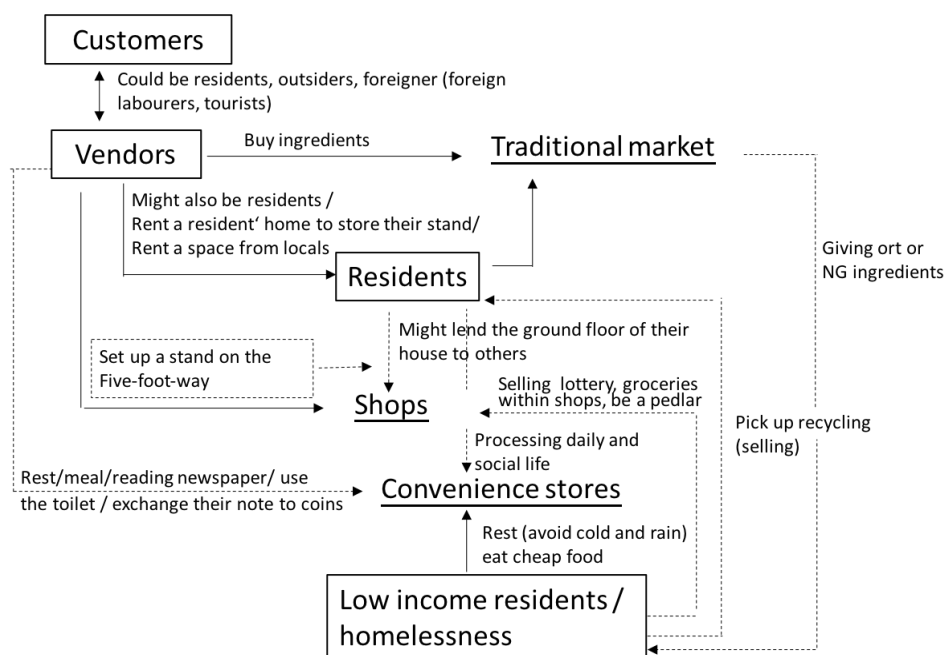


Figure 80. Groups' multiple roles and overlapped relationship shifts.

This figure shows that within the same CLC, one person (group) could play multiple roles to interact with different groups. For example, a local could be a resident, a

businessman and a landlord who rents a space to another businessmen. Within different roles, they also enact diverse behaviours. Every group can find a position and satisfy their needs within it. Even people with low incomes can find spaces to act daily life and social behaviours in.

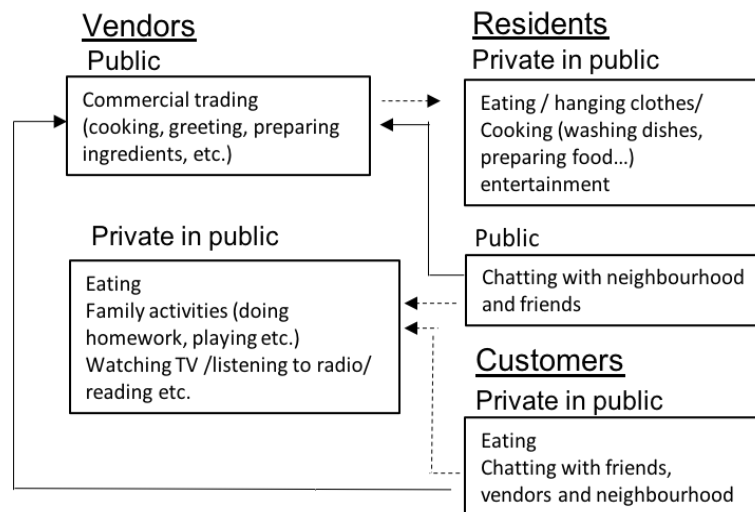


Figure 81. Different groups interacting and acting diverse behaviours within one space.

This figure shows that multiple groups interacted within one space and played different roles and mixed behaviours. It shows that even if a person acts in one space during a very short time, s/he can play different roles and use behaviours to interact with others. Within the same cultural life circuit there are multiple, diverse people who have different roles and create overlapping relationships. The social mix can support people to connect to different people simultaneously and increase the possibilities of interaction.

One advantage of social mixing, as aforementioned, is that personal roles and behaviours can be satisfied and supported at any time within any space, increasing the

possibilities for intersection, interaction and recognition of individuals in the CLC.

One interviewee mentioned that she did not know her neighbours until she met her in another space (a clinic) in another role (as a patient) in the CLC:

Our neighbourhood, an apothecary who has lived there since the 921 earthquakes¹².

[I, the researcher asked “do you have several interactions with your neighbour?”]

Not really, actually. We had been in a nodding acquaintance relationship, in that we

just can recognise each others’ faces but did not have any further interaction for a

long time. After I had a baby, one day I went to a clinic [within the same circuit].

Then I found out that she works there, after then we have further interactions and

know each other more than before. (Miss Wu. 吳)

In this case, they can recognise each other because they live nearby, but they have the chance to know each other more in different (secondary) roles. It also shows that they know each other more when they had more overlap in their daily lives, and that without the first role (neighbour), they probably would not have the foundation for further interactions. People who play only one role will not present diverse opportunities for role shifting and overlapping with other people’s lives, which will result in a less alive and less diverse environment.

Social mixing also can support the cooperation of multiple social levels, such as different classes. Residents who come from different classes have intersections when they are in different roles and these intersections can increase tolerance. For instance,

¹² A serious earthquake happened in Taiwan in 1999 that caused more than 2000 people death. Because it happened at 21st, September so that it is called ‘921 Earthquake’ by Taiwan people.

recyclers receive recycled goods from shops (restaurants) or from residents (neighbourhood). The recyclers use different roles and positions within the CLC to enact daily life behaviours and needs. The more flexible the roles available, the more opportunities people have for interactions. Along similar lines, when people are in different roles, they will have different interactions. When the vendor is a local, they will enact personal daily life behaviours and have interactions with residents who enact their daily life behaviours in a similar way, such as hanging up clothes in close proximity to each other. More diverse and overlapping roles provide greater numbers of opportunities for interaction, reducing hierarchies of class and behaviour.

Information exchange will be undertaken within more socially-mixed conditions. For instance, Mr Hung restaurant-owner, father and local, receives news of the CLC from different roles in different spaces. The case studies show that different groups in a breakfast store exchange information. Every participant provides different information to different groups from each perspective that will be affected by their roles. For instance, children mention school life; locals talk about regional news. The shop-owner, local and businessman is able to exchange different types of information depending on his different roles. This provides more chances for people to get to know each other and understand different lifestyles. One interview alluded to this:

This area represents an “edge”, it contains [people] such as labourers, homeless people, or sex workers....some rents of tall buildings are low.....so that people like the homeless will find some spaces and move in.....this place have its own rules (quality), and I feel that there is no gap between different classes. No matter which

kind of groups they are, people have inter-relationships or interactions in different ways..... We usually exchange something with the junkmen, for instance, if they picked up some wood that is useless, then sometime we have some recycled goods or valuable metals[I asked "so do you feel that if the circumstances change, will it affect not only such as middle class but all people within this area?"]. Yes, it will, definitely.....this kind of strata have existed for a long time. (Xu, 徐竹)

The social mix can support the overlapping of people and behaviours and increase interactions between them. It can also allow people such as new immigrants to become involved in the CLC smoothly because they can approach different people and behaviours by assuming flexible roles within mixed spaces.

At the beginning of the section, I discussed some theories concerning the importance of spatial design in contemporary urban development and some based on the contrasting perspective. Jacobs has had a particular effect on urban design, especially on developing the urban development from the perspective of locals, through measures such as community empowerment. She considers practical cases and indicates that locals' opinions and lives are also important elements in regional development. Her opinions are drawn from her experiences and observation, and most of them have a positive effect on regional development. Jacobs suggests four features that she believes a good region must have: multiple functions; small and short (street) blocks; different ages, types, scales and conditions of houses; and a high population density to support commercial and daily life development (Jacobs, 1970[71]). Thus she indicates the effect of both people (behaviour) and space, and does not (as others

do) oppose hardware construction. Rather, we can see that she still believes the power of space can affect regional development and affect the people who live in a region. That is why she opposes large-scale rushed hardware construction in the current urban development. She indicates that maintaining diversity and controlling scale helps maintain coherence and harmony in a region or community and believes that the chaos and disorganization of an old city can enhance pure social connections (Zukin, 2011[167]). However, this research suggests that space and people are equally important in creating a living environment. Furthermore, a well-operating city is not born of pure chaos; it is formed by diverse, mixed conditions and interaction between different element. For example, within the Chung District CLC there is considerable flexibility in roles, space and daily life needs (see sections 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3)

Jacobs's observation indicates the importance of the interaction of space and people but does not clarify how this might be brought about. A dynamic living environment is not affected by space or people alone but their co-effect. Furthermore, although Jacobs discusses the effect of middle-class people in a developing area, she pays little attention to how diverse groups also support regional development, instead focusing on diversity of spaces. She argues that the condition of mixed spaces (functions) is key to diversity of people and behaviours (Jacobs, 2000[70]). To maintain small-scale districts and social interaction in the streets is to support city life. The pure and simple group composition also decrease the diversity of the living environment (Zukin, 2011) Jacobs does not notice that the effect of diverse behaviours and people also will affect spaces, and their cooperation supports the stable development of a region.

Hence, the essential point is not to preserve the form of space, nor to attract crowds into the street, but their composition and interactions. Also, the living environment should maintain the diversity of groups and spaces to keep creating further social interaction. Furthermore, current urban development did not pay much attention to small-scale commercial activities, daily life economies and those strong connections and further interactions created by and hidden behind them. Thus, the benefits Jacobs mentions are not the result of the mix of space and function, but relate to a more complex interaction and composition of all elements: mixing house and social mixing.

Jacobs further argues that multiple functions of spaces are necessary to guarantee that streets are used throughout the day. However, this research suggests that it is more important to increase the opportunities for overlap between different groups and behaviours, especially the combination of commercial and daily life behaviours, providing an environment in which people can play different roles and enact different behaviours. Moreover, Jacobs claims the mix of ages, types, scales and conditions of buildings can maintain a diverse living environment. Nevertheless, the real reason it works is because of the existence of diversity: multiple buildings can support diverse groups to live and act their daily lives together.

If people focus only on preserving or maintaining spaces but ignore social and behavioural diversity, it might result in something like Greenwich Village, Jacobs' hometown, or many Asian examples discussed earlier in this thesis. In these places there is a strong atmosphere of nostalgia, attracting more middle-class people and tourists, raising prices and simplifying and narrowing the ranges of rental costs.

Accordingly, diversity is reduced, and this affects the atmosphere, or life and soul of a location. The chaos that Jacobs suggests as crucial is thus constructed by people as well as mixed spaces. Within a CLC, there are different types and levels of mixed conditions that can create the dynamic and diverse living atmosphere and chances. The key point is the intersection of every element.

This chapter has discussed mixed situations, their interactions and their inter-related results. Cooperation has been shown to be vital in the creation of flexibility. Within a CLC, different compositions of spaces, groups and behaviours are formed at every moment. They form a specific atmosphere and allow people to recognise specific features of the CLC in which they act. Crucially, to develop urban (re)development, both housing and social mixing are required. The next chapter will discuss compositions, interactions and effects in detail.

Chapter 7 - Situating Everyday Things

In this chapter, the concept of the Cultural Behaviour Landscape (CBL) will be elaborated on with reference to the research observation results. It will also discuss its composition, features and how it supports the shifting features of the CLC, as well as how it supports groups to recognise different atmospheres and moments in time within cultural life circuits. Finally, it will examine how CBLs support people to become involved in the daily life of the circuit smoothly.

7.1 Cultural Behaviour Landscape (CBL)

Space links our lives, supports and contains multiple interactions; moreover, it is also a container of collective experiences and time. People organise memories and feelings, giving meaning and imagination through serial interactions (Walter, 1988). Moreover, people create a sense of trust in and recognition of a region by becoming involved in regional daily life (Middleton, Murie and Groves, 2005[109]). Furthermore, living atmospheres are enhanced through different behaviours and interactions of groups in spaces (Yeoh and Kong, 1999[162]; Chase and Shaw, 1989[18]). As has been shown above, behaviour, space and people integrate and create the atmosphere of an area. As discussed in the last chapter, the interactions of daily behaviours and groups within spaces form the characteristics of a cultural life circuit, interweaving into many combinations of different local characteristics.

When discussing urban redevelopment, most theories emphasise the importance and effect of space design and preservation. For instance, Christopher Alexander analyses

how human mental states and behaviours are affected by spaces (Alexander, 1978[3]). His team organises serial compositions of spaces and develops them into patterns that can be practiced in actual design. They attempt to reveal how space affects daily behaviour through observing current space and behaviours within it. Pattern language, which affects the current urban development concept profoundly, is developed from the concept of the cognitive map and people's recognition of an environment, and discusses how people's mentalities and behaviour will be affected by the environment (Downs and Stea, eds, 1973[126]; Juval Portugali, 1996 [73]).

As discussed in the section on mixed space (section 6.1), mixed space can increase the diversity of behaviour and interactions. It shows that indeed people's behaviour will be affected by spaces, but it is a two-way effect in which behaviours also will affect and reconstruct spaces profoundly. Instead of discussing the power of composition and connection of spaces, Pattern Language focuses on how a space can affect people's behaviours and feelings. It focuses on creating a practical tool that can be used in design, enhancing the principal and subordinate relationship of space and behaviour. It shows how space plays an important role in affecting people's behaviour. However, on a more abstract level, hierarchical space forms as organised by Alexander cannot express non-hierarchical spatial relations, which is essential to constructing the spatial environment (Hillier and Hanson, 1984[66]). This shows that Pattern Language focuses on space as the main factor affecting people's behaviour, and accordingly, it explores more visible and individual factors. However, it also ignores the two-way structure of this relationship, or even its three-way structure.

Moreover, Pattern Language is also short of flexibility which attempts to set up a common system that can be practiced in spatial design to form a living neighbourhood and building environment. Reflecting on previous sections, this does not give sufficient weight to the effect of other elements (behaviour and groups) within the environment. Furthermore, it pays too little attention to different local daily life and time elements (see Chapter 4). It ignores that the effect of space will be affected considerably by surrounding behaviours and groups at different times. Hence, Pattern Language considers space only, and thus is incomplete. Also, as has been explored, daily life, regional characteristics and atmospheres are not created only by static movement but dynamic and continuous movement in continuous time. It is not composed of a collection of congealed things or events; it is movement that is undertaken by groups in space (de Certeau, L. Giard. and P. Mayol, 1998[28]). Furthermore, behaviours transform in time and result in dynamic variations that are caused by multiple groups interacting within spaces. However, most theories fail to consider adequately the power of daily life behaviour in forming these spaces.

Lefebvre proposes that to relink a society (work, leisure, and home), we should consider the human scale, to conceive both daily life behaviour, space and people (1991a [89]). In this way we can see how networks are built by interactions between them. Production of daily spaces must contain reproductions of behaviours, and individuals. Hence, when considering the construction of a society, we should examine space, behaviour, groups and their composition, and also time. However, this still gives insufficient weight to the fact that different people (groups) have different reactions (tactics) to using and reforming those compositions. The research

observations results show that behaviours affect and reform space, and different compositions of behaviours cause different results. Also, the power of diverse behaviours can change and form space and its use. This is the way a cultural life circuit resists the original (top-down) strategy of spatial design and planning and forms its own operation, co-created by every element and indicating the importance of composition, interactions and the effect of linking of all elements.

The Cultural Behaviour Landscape differs from Pattern Language that primary considers the effect of space. The Cultural Behaviour Landscape emphasises that a living area can be recognised by people and should possess and support different kinds of interactivities between individuals in times within spaces. CBL is also the representation of those flexible and diverse compositions within the CLC. It shows the practical results of the daily life behaviours of different groups. Every circuit has diverse CBLs, and the point is not the result of the composition, nor the landscape itself, but how they are supported and formed within daily life interactions by different elements and create diverse interactions. Different from theories mentioned above, CBL does not develop from only space (neighbourhood) nor behaviour (community) but enhances the living atmosphere and characteristics that support the operation of daily life. Furthermore, it is like the cultural life circuit, shifting and changing compositions during different periods¹³, following the rhythm of the circuit.

¹³ 'Period' here means the time required to make a shift within a CLC. This might be a daily cycle or longer: different CLCs have different time periods so that they can form their own features and support different needs of all factors.

Operating within the CLC, every CBL can support the specific needs of the CLC. They only reconstruct and unite in specific periods, discussed below. Within CLCs, different compositions of spaces, behaviours and groups can create different kinds of CBLs that represent specific dynamic atmospheres to prompt a sense of familiarity and relief. People can recognise their environment and are willing to weave those interactions, spaces and groups into their daily life. The integration of space and behaviour show how they form and confirm the daily life operation, the liveliness of regional daily life and a sense of security. The CBL, unlike Pattern Language, is changeable and recomposes. It shifts and is formed by the CLC in which it exists.

David Seamon writes about place ballet, developed from body ballet. This explores how individual bodies move in space and form it, which he calls a time-space routine (1980)[133]. Furthermore, if an individual routine is maintained in the long-term, it forms a place ballet that shows the connections of collectivity within space and time. Based on this repetitive routine, people can form a sense of belonging to their living area. Seamon notes how a personal body and behaviour extend in practice in serial spaces in the process of building the connections between the person and the environment. Moreover, it is a way of different people fixing their environment through repetitive behaviour within fixed spaces and routines. It is a one-way building process, a long-lasting means of bodily involvement in an area that does not suppose interactions with others nor the support of a network. It also does not consider or contain the possibility of change, but looks to form and integrate a community by repetitive body movement to occupy the space and to own a position.

By contrast, within the cultural life circuit, the cultural behaviour landscape contains and develops not only an individual but also other elements (other people and behaviours). Every CBL is the fuse point of multiple elements. It indeed can be flexibly composed by individuals, but also affect and be affected by surrounding elements. In other words, the cultural behaviour landscape is the essential point to allow and help individuals to interact with other elements that also act within the circuit. By flexibly joining with different elements, every element can build different connections to multiple elements, thus enacting further actions freely. It may look like normal repetitive daily life, but actually contains flexible composition and interactions. The cultural behaviour landscape is different from the body-ballet and place-ballet, which aim to form a common and harmonious coexistence. Instead, it maintains diversity by flexible and continuous recomposition.

This research extends the ideas discussed above and stresses that all elements are integrated, and their interactions result in different effects in the living environment. Moreover, it also indicates how time is also an essential element in forming a living and diverse environment. The chapter that discusses the cultural life circuit (chapter 4 and 5) shows that within a cultural life circuit all elements are inter-related in different periods. This section shows that within a cultural life circuit, there are several and diverse compositions and the CBL represents different dynamic living atmospheres. The next section will discuss how different compositions of cultural behaviour landscapes can create diverse environments and their features.

7.2 Composition and Features of CBLs

The last section established the concept of the cultural behaviour landscape. This section will discuss three features of the CBL. First of all, as they are contained in and support the operation of cultural life circuit, they will follow and be affected by time. The CBL will recompose in different periods following the shift of the CLC and represent the living atmospheres of different CLCs. Secondly, their composition can meet different needs of elements at specific times and support CLC operation.

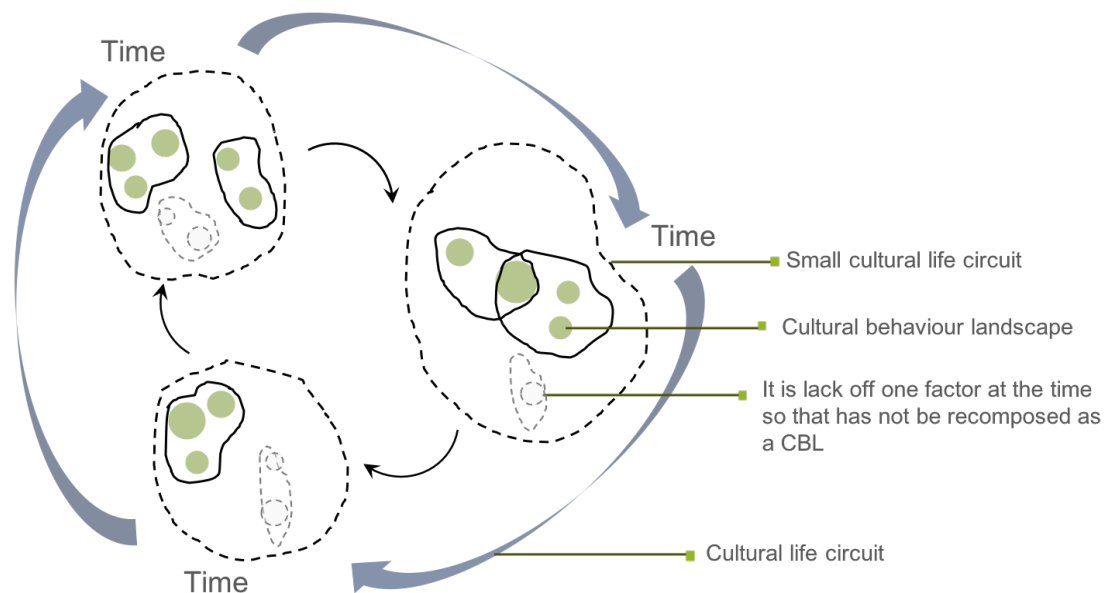


Figure 82. Cultural behaviour landscapes will reconstruct in different periods to support the needs of the CLC. The interior CLC recomposes continually, shifting daily, weekly or sometimes seasonally.

Thirdly, within a CBL, even if just one element changes such as space, it will result in a different composition, use and atmosphere. For example, in one five-foot-way, from morning to night, there might be mixed commercial and related extended behaviours such as cooking and eating, chatting or hanging up clothes. It is also a public space

for everyone to use. Several groups act and interact within it in a day, and one group might enact one or multiple behaviours. In each period, there are diverse groups and behaviours in the five-foot-way, so there a series of CBLs are composed. For instance, a home-owner who might also be the shop-owner will enact behaviours (commercial or personal) during different periods or at the same time. The CBL changes to satisfy different needs and create different atmospheres at different stages of a CLC. Therefore, different compositions of CBLs also remind people to recognise specific moments, the timelines of the CLC in which they live or act.

Cultural behaviour landscapes reconstruct in time to meet different daily behaviour requirements. Thus, they support the self-sufficiency of the CLC. There are several examples observed in the field work that can support this. For instance, the corner shown in Figure 84 was occupied by a breakfast vehicle in the morning. It serves office workers, labourers and students who buy their meals on their way to work. During the afternoon and evening, the five-foot-way was occupied by the ground floor sports equipment shop, which extended their business activities onto it. They placed stands in the five-foot-way to sell more commodities, attracting passers-by from different backgrounds. Meanwhile, there were also passers-by or friends socialising in the five-foot-way around the corner at different times of day. This shows that just one element changing in the composition of a cultural behaviour landscape will create a different atmosphere and function.

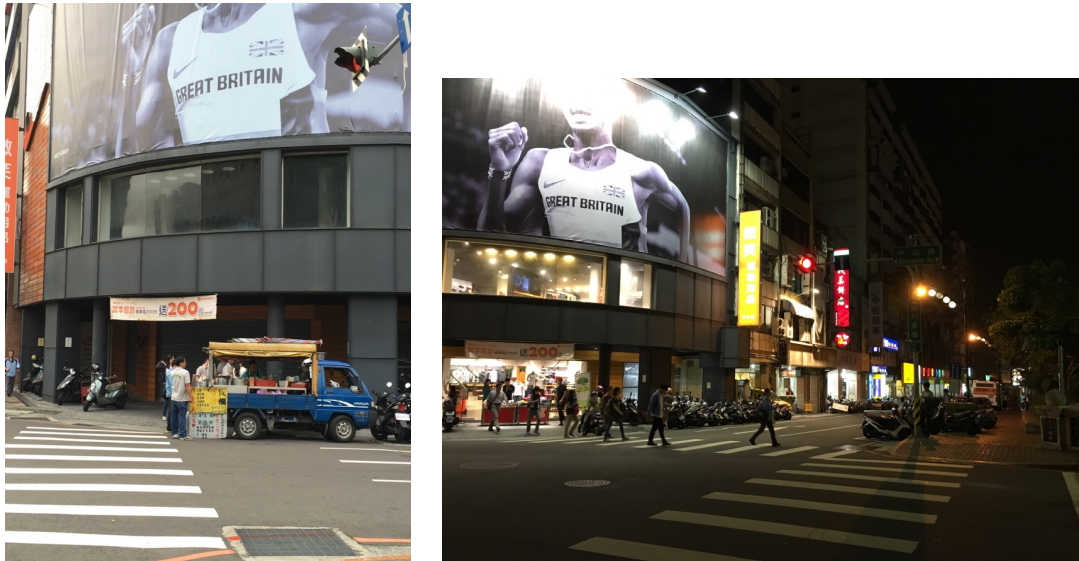


Figure 83. The same space, which connects to different groups and behaviours, will create different atmospheres and support different needs. (Left) In the morning, there was a breakfast vehicle serving diverse groups, which also became a temporary social place. (Right) From noon to night, it was occupied by the shop and satisfied the leisure and daily life need of such as residents, tourists and students.

Even in small streets and residential areas, there are different CBL compositions. For example, in Figure 85 in the very early hours, an elderly resident was sweeping the street, and not so far away there was a housewife sitting in front of her home and preparing food. Then, in the same space, at noon, office workers, labourers and students) parked their motorcycles in the street to have lunch in nearby restaurants and cafes. In the afternoon, vendors pulled their stands toward the street, and were preparing to open, chatting with each other and residents. At night, the street was filled with commercial activities and numerous social activities.



Figure 84. Several different behaviours and groups in the same street. Left: An elderly woman sweeps the street, and at the end of the street is a woman preparing food. Centre: A vendor pulling his stand onto the street. Right: Several stands located in the street, and different groups of customers buying or eating dinner.

This reflects the fact that CBLs are reconstructed so that each is composed only at a specific time with a specific atmosphere. Moreover, a CBL only forms its atmosphere and has meaning at the moment it is reconstructed, illustrating again that space, behaviour and groups (people) cannot be considered separately when discussing the formation of the living environment. One landscape only reflects one circumstance because space can only be defined by groups and their behaviours within it. People form their own CBL, and overlapping CBLs will become part of each other's group elements, providing the possibility of interaction. This feature can be seen in the field work observations. The same spaces give rise to different feelings and memories when composed differently. This is described in my field work diary:

By reviewing photos that I have taken in the past one month, I suddenly notice that there are several “silent” and invisible” spaces those I did not notice and see when I walked by. I only recognised them when I reviewed photos of the same space I took over different periods, when spaces contained people and enacted behaviours that were surprising to me. They cannot provide any “memory point” and attraction without behaviours.

(Field Work Diary, 28th October 2015)

Here, I describe the same space in two separate entries:

I walked along a street without hesitation, so far, there are no space or objects to catch my attention. There is a row of two-storey old houses that it seems no-one lives in. The street was so quiet and still. Doors were closed and very few of passers-by went along the five-foot-way, walking quickly. Only one store owner stood inside the house and watched me as I went by. I felt this street filled with the dying breath of an old city. You can only sense its past glories from by the decaying and broken façades. They are aged beauties without any vitality. I only can remember the abstract surface of this street but do not have any specific memories or feelings about it. It was just one indistinctive street of hundred streets I had walked through during the fieldwork.

(Field Work Diary, Morning, 3rd October 2015)

I turned the corner and the street become narrow. Just one-third of the houses were lit. A few ground floors of residential houses were half-open and one men sat in front of his house. There was one noodle stand placed in the five-foot-way, and five

customers sat. Two of them were chatting. The lighting only just illuminated the five-foot-way; the other part of the street was still dark. Not far away, another elderly man was watering a pot plant in front of his house in the five-foot-way. On the next corner, a resident was sitting on the bench of a lottery shop in conversation with two other people. This was not the most popular street in this cultural life circuit, but it contained different behaviours, private and public, leisure and commercial, intersecting in a way that caught my attention. Even now, I still can imagine those different compositions of different type of elements along this street. It was still, but had a vivid daily life atmosphere.

(Field Work Diary, night of 3rd November 2015)

The first time I passed along the street, I had a fuzzy image of the many historical buildings in the Chung district. The second time I was struck by the behaviours contributing to the atmosphere. After the second time, every time I turned the corner, the feeling of these cultural behaviour landscapes struck me before I actually saw them. It is not only about the space and its original form and function, but also behaviour (commercial, personal or leisure) happening there, and extended behaviours and social interactions that developed from this, and the specific atmosphere they form.



Figure 85. A temporary space contains different groups and behaviours that can create further different interactions. Left: The vendor prepares to open his stand. This space only contains only one person (one group) and one kind of behaviour. Also, the boundary of the space has not been defined by behaviour so it cannot be extended or connect to other groups. Right: After commercial behaviour begins, the first meaning of the space is defined and the CBL is constructed. It then contains different groups and commercial (trading), personal (eating, chatting, etc.) and social (interactions of friends, strangers and between owner and customers) behaviours. It contains its original space, behaviour and groups, but also other extended and overlapping parts.



Figure 86. Different atmospheres in the same space.

These two groups of photos show different atmospheres before and after behaviour and people were acting within it. The linking and overlap of CBLs in CBLs increase potential extensions developing from their combinations. As previous mentioned, a CBL is not a static space that behaviours and groups act within and through. It comes alive and then there are opportunities to extend and link to other spaces and behaviours. The CBL provides potential opportunities to develop more living interactions. This potential development is enhanced by the mixed nature of the cultural life circuit. CBLs can link together, extending activities and interactions. For

instance, each part of a five-foot-way can compose a CBL and if they link together they can interact with other CBLs. Figure 88 shows the shop-owner (Photo A) cleaning the five-foot-way in front of his shop. He then read a newspaper and ate breakfast at home. In the afternoon, one of his neighbours was feeding her child in the shop. He passed and greeted her (Photo B). At almost the same time, two friends were waiting for their drinks in the five-foot-way (Photo D), before going to the lottery shop, four houses far away along the five-foot-way. They bought a lottery ticket (Photo C) and then went back to the five-foot-way to ride a motorcycle. It shows that on the way from the hand-shaken drinks shop¹⁴ to the lottery shop, there are plenty of visible connections and potential social behaviours. Different space and behaviours were linked by the five-foot-way and form a series of cultural behaviour landscapes.



Figure 87. From left to right, photos A, B, C, and D.

Figure 88 also shows a series of behaviours and interactions in one five-foot-way. I saw people smoking in Photo A and talking to the man who was washing his hands in Photo B. At night, a family eat in their home and also their own shop (Photo C). Their child is running between their five-foot-way and the shop's five-foot-way in Photo D.

¹⁴ This is a common and popular chain store, selling drinks such as bubble tea, made to order. Therefore, customers need to wait in or just outside the store (usually in the five-foot-way). In Taiwan, you would walk past at least one such store every few minutes.

The mother had a conversation with the shop-owner in the same photo. In the same five-foot-way, in the afternoon, two men were chatting, watching the television and minding the shop (Photo E). Two houses away, their neighbours were moving a chair outdoors and walking within the five-foot-way to chat to them (Photo F). After a while, he (the man in Figure F) went back to his home and sat on the chair, watching people pass by, before glancing at me.



Figure 88. From left to right, upper to lower, photos A, B, C, D, E and F.

Each part of the five-foot-way can compose a cultural behaviour landscape. But when they are close to, linked or overlapped by one or more common elements, they can create more possible intersections and interactions, and thus contribute to the living atmosphere and environment. Within a CBL, its composition is not limited to one space, one behaviour or one group, but might be multiple, mixed and overlapped. Also, at the moment I was observing, I might also become part of the CBL. I would then form part of others' landscapes and affect factors such as feelings, atmosphere

and potential extensions. A CBL can develop more expected and unexpected behaviours, link to surrounding spaces and extend its boundaries. Accordingly, it attracts and contains more diverse groups. Overlap in the cultural behaviour landscapes can allow and attract more extended interactions of space, behaviour or groups in different periods.

Another case illustrates this. As the stand shown below shows, without behaviours, stands (things) are just a structure, not a space, and cannot extend or develop further interactions. Space contains behaviour that is enacted by people and defines space. Therefore, different compositions of these three elements create different atmospheres and create different possibilities for extension. If one element in a CBL changes, it creates a different atmosphere, utility, and specific characteristics. Its reconstruction increases stimuli so that people will notice, recognise and remember it. The CBL represents the processes of daily life, but not the space or behaviour itself. By repeated reconstruction, they transform into an image that people can recognise.



Figure 89. One space and two different reconstructions of CBLs.

In Figure 90, the left-hand photo shows a normal, unused stand located in a small alley at the back of a traditional market. It occupies a space but was not itself a defined space that can contain behaviours or groups. As it approached noon (the middle photo), the stand was prepared, and the vendor and his staff were working together. Chairs have not been placed yet in the photo, but I saw one customer come to order food and say he would be back to collect it later. The space was defined by the stand (physical object) and behaviour (working, trading, social interaction) it contained. Also, because the extension of space (chairs) and behaviours, staff moved between the stand and stores located in the alley that sell ingredients. There were also overlaps with the other CBLs in the alley, such as the vendor chatting to neighbouring vendors, and staff taking food from storage, passing through several shops. Extending from this stand, diverse groups and behaviours were acted within, through and nearby.



Figure 90. The case of a plaza that contains multiple groups and behaviours.

The plaza is in front of the temple located in the Second Traditional Market where vendors store their stock. Within it, different groups (vendors, customers, residents etc.) compose different CBLs. This CBL (Figure 90) also overlapped with others, such as the temple plaza (Figure 91) located next to the stand where people came to pray, eat breakfast or park their motorcycles. The two intersected with and enhanced each other. At night, the stand remained open. The owner cleaned the stand among a few passers-by. At this moment, the CBL became independent and simple, only containing one behaviour and no with intersection with others. Thus, the more a CBL links or overlaps, the more dynamic and alive the environment will be.

More social connections were made by hidden elements that compose CBLs. In this research, interviewees chose 14 photos that they felt contained a sense of life from three sets of photos (a total of 45 frames). It can be seen that some photos represent the same space, but without behaviours within it, no-one chose them. Instead, they chose those spaces containing behaviours and people. The discussion now turns to analysing the compositions of those photos and exploring their features, effects and interactions; in other words, exploring the CBL within the Chung CLC. Firstly, the results show that all CBLs are intersections of space, behaviour and groups, meaning that the living environment is formed by the composition of all three instead of any single one. Even the empty alley with chairs, without any people visible, (Figure 105, Photo B) shows signs of habitation, such as clothes hung up and parked motorcycles.

Secondly, it shows that most cultural behaviour landscapes are composed of commercial behaviours, and the hidden elements that support them. For instance, in

Figure 96, photos A and B show that commercial behaviour and space also contain interactions between sellers, customers and residents. There are many non-commercial behaviours extended from those commercial behaviours.

Each of them extends from the commercial space and behaviour to enact leisure or social behaviour. For instance, sellers read and eat in the shop or five-foot-way and customers chat with their friends. Those cultural behaviour landscapes compose not only commercial behaviour, and vendors' lives that can be observed, but also overlapping necessary or unnecessary and leisure daily life behaviours of every group in these mixed areas, showing that CBLs are composed of diverse elements, not only one space nor one behaviour in one cultural behaviour landscape. This feature reflects the discussion in Chapter 3 about how most social needs are satisfied by and extended from daily life behaviours, and shows that within the cultural life circuit, people can shift their roles in different CBLs to interact with different groups and to enact different behaviours within different compositions. They all increase the possibility of interactions with hidden figures that extend and develop from those commercial behaviours within connecting or overlapping CBLs.

Thirdly, the composition of a CBL is not reproduced in different periods, but reconstructed. It can be seen from the photos below that there are several common factors. For instance, spaces contain defined and expected behaviours such as shops and stands that are supposed to enact commercial trading, and flexible (temporary) spaces that show up at specific times or are formed by specific groups like the mobile

vendors and students. With the factor of time, elements of the cultural life circuit keep reconstructing in a series of cultural behaviour landscapes.

The next paragraphs explore the composition of those cultural behaviour landscapes (through the chosen photos) to see how different elements intersect with and create each landscape to support different needs. It is not the aim to find the pattern of CBL composition in the CLC, but to show the diverse compositions of different elements. Most importantly, we must consider how they form to different effects in supporting the circuit. Furthermore, this is different from the discussion in Chapter 4 about multiple mixed spaces and the effects of diversity in the circuit. The following discussion centres on how different CBLs form different atmospheres and the results of this. It also investigates how diverse elements, include hidden features, compose and create an environment that can support further interactions.



Figure 91. The most frequently-chosen photos in interviews. From left to right, photos A, B and C.

Night markets, mixed commercial and residential streets and convenience stores (Ground Space) are the most common three cultural behaviour landscapes in which

people feel a sense of daily life. Their composition is relatively complicated and diverse. They mix several different kinds of space, behaviour and groups. Moreover, within the commercial and residential space, there are extended behaviours such as leisure and social behaviour.

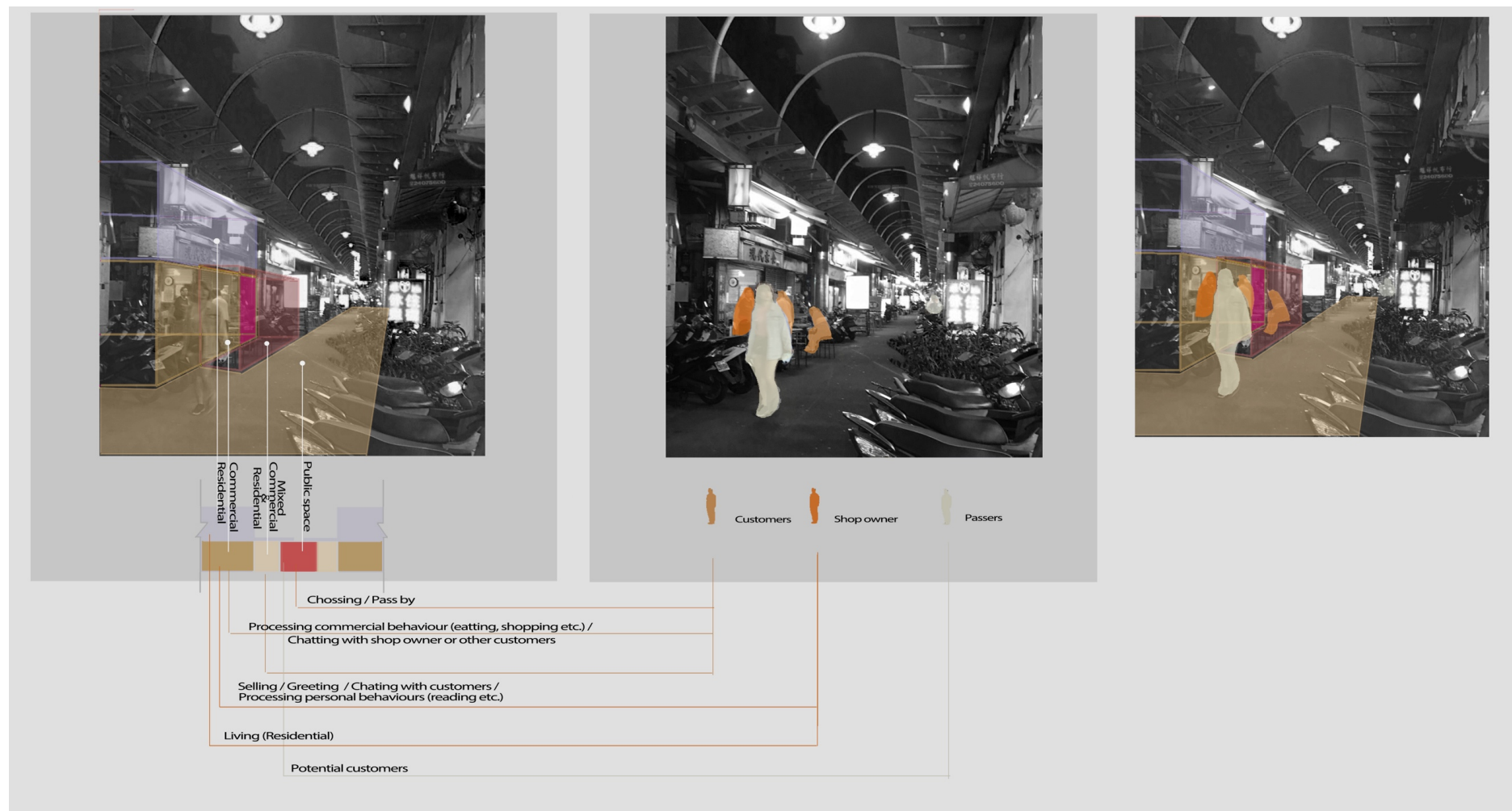


Figure 92. Analysis of photo A, Figure 92.

The following series of analysed figures show the composition of each photo, representing interactions of different spaces, groups and behaviours. Each figure shows three parts: the composition of space; multiple group composition; and the overlap of groups and spaces. It also represents diverse behaviours undertaken by different groups within different part of spaces at the bottom of the figure.

This CBL is composed of mixed space (commercial, residential and the five-foot-way) and three different groups (the customers, the shop owner who is also a resident, and passers-by). Groups who are involved in commercial behaviours also enact personal behaviours such as chatting, eating and watching television. This increases the possibility of further interactions of different elements.

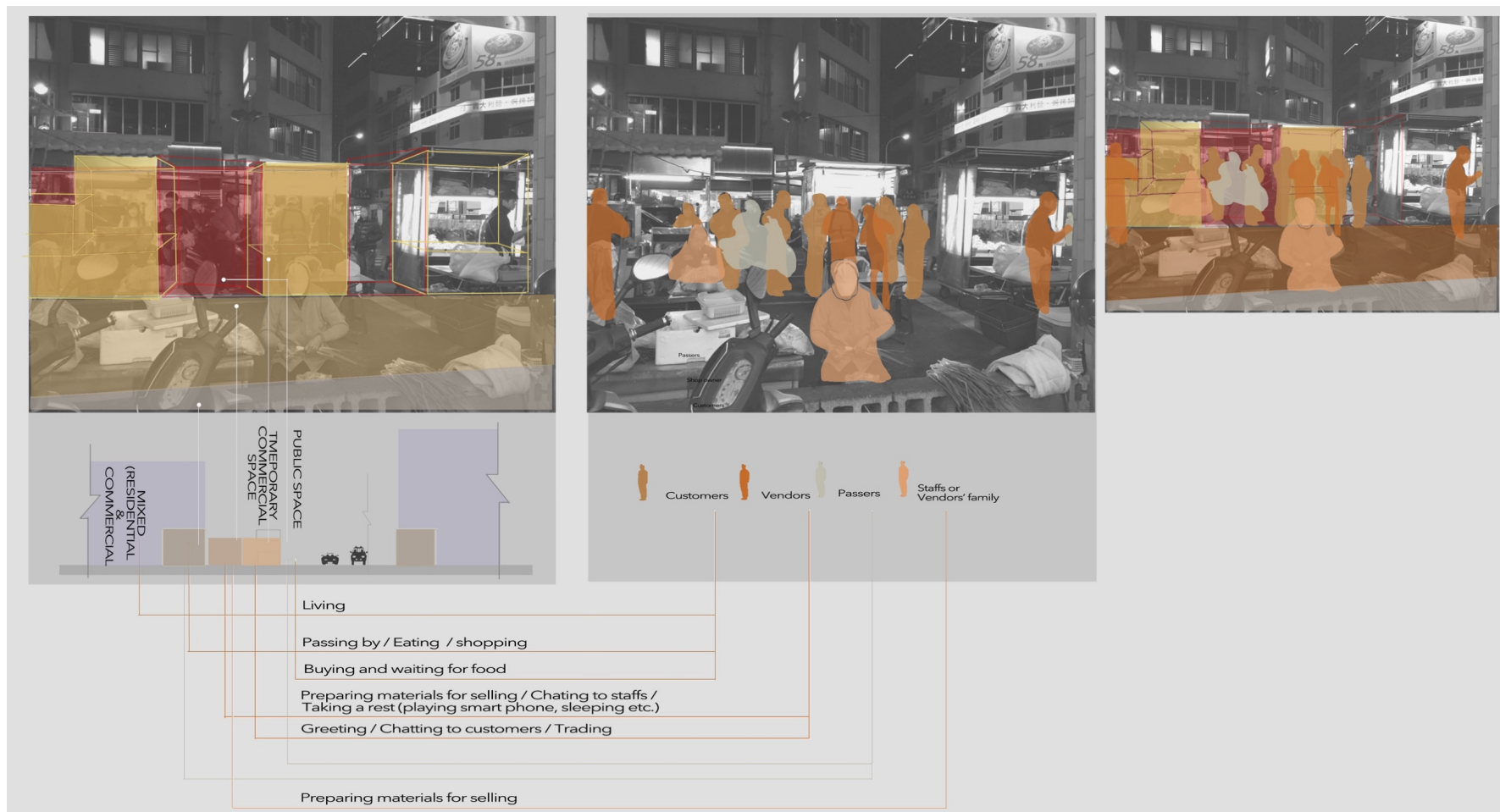


Figure 93. Analysis of photo B, Figure 92.

This cultural behaviour landscape is composed of commercial spaces, behaviours and groups. The commercial space is independent (mobile stands) and temporarily attached to the residential space so that it can be reconstructed during different periods. It looks like mainly it is composed of commercial space and behaviour, but the analysed figure shows that there are also leisure and daily life behaviours integrated into it. For instance, vendors or their staff and families also enact personal behaviours such as reading or napping within this public commercial space. This elevates the area beyond more impersonal trading behaviours, giving it more atmosphere. This CBL represents a common composition within the CLC, constructed by a temporary commercial space and containing both commercial and personal daily life behaviours.



Figure 94. A purely commercial cultural behaviour landscape.

This is the only one chosen photo that is a purely commercial space. This shows that even in one commercial space, if it can support different groups to enact different kind of behaviours, it also can form a living environment that is filled with potential interactions. Also, it reflects that those further social interactions were developed from daily life, hidden behind those commercial behaviours. In this landscape, students were playing and chatting after school. One student had just collected a parcel; a group of friends were eating snacks and chatting; and nearby a man was browsing magazines. Next to the group of students, a homeless man was taking a nap. Behind him, a man was eating and playing with his mobile phone alone. This shows that within this commercial space (Ground Space), people enact their leisure and daily behaviour based on and extended from a simple commercial behaviour such as buying a tea egg (costing \$10 NTD, which is about 25p). In this type of space (Ground Space), even a homeless man can join others and undertake daily behaviours. Accordingly, this results in diverse behaviours and groups collecting in this space to compose different kinds of landscapes. Interviewees also recognised this mixed condition (mixed groups, classes, behaviour etc.) as a valued part of their life. This shows again that the CBL can conceal features within the exterior cultural behaviour landscapes, such as social behaviours that extend from commercial behaviour. They contain several extended elements (behaviours and groups) to support further interactions and social connections based on daily commercial activities.

One CBL might be composed of multiple spaces and groups. It also reflects that each group enacts multiple behaviours in one CBL, which could occupy one or multiple spaces (for example, the vendor enacting commercial activities in the stand and

personal behaviours such as resting at the roadside) as diverse groups have diverse interactions.



Figure 95. Night market (From the left to the right the photos are A, B, and C)

These CBLs show the lives of vendors, and residents who also are ground-floor shop-owners, enacting their commercial and personal daily lives. They show again that the CBL is not just one space that contains commercial or personal behaviour, but also contains hidden leisure and daily social behaviours that are extended by combinations and overlap with other CBLs.

This CBL composition is similar to Figure 94. but it extends its commercial behaviour to the five-foot-way. Personal behaviours of customers such as eating, and interactions of customers and passers-by also intersect with each other.



Figure 97. *Cultural behaviour landscapes that are extended from the roadside and five-foot-way to the mixed used area.*

The composition of these CBLs is also similar to Figure 94. The one difference is they present more the leisure (daily) behaviour of customers rather than vendors or staff. For instance, customers eat and chat with their friends in the five-foot-way, or queue on the roadside and chat to the vendors. These CBLs express aspects of normal people's daily life and allow people to detect the normal daily life of businessmen and how they integrate and hide behind external commercial behaviours.



Figure 98. A cultural behaviour landscape composed of residential buildings and vendors.

This figure represents a distant perspective on the night market. Individual vendors, customers and shops cannot be seen clearly. Instead, it gives a rough idea of the atmosphere and circumstances of this cultural behaviour landscape. It also shows connections and how they integrate with the residential and how CBLs cross different spaces and link together.

These three chosen photos all represent different parts of a night market. Unlike Figure 92, which contains more different and significant non-commercial behaviours such as vendors' leisure behaviour, these three CBLs contain mainly commercial activities and social interactions of customers and vendors or customers and their friends or strangers.



Figure 99. *Commercial (cuisine) shop*. From left to right, upper to lower, the photos are A, B, C, D and E. This figure shows similar CBL compositions as previous photos, but most of them contain only one or two behaviours and groups at one time.



Figure 100. A typical cultural behaviour landscape that is a mix of commercial and residential space.

The commercial and daily life behaviours are integrated in one landscape and take turns to play the major role during different periods.

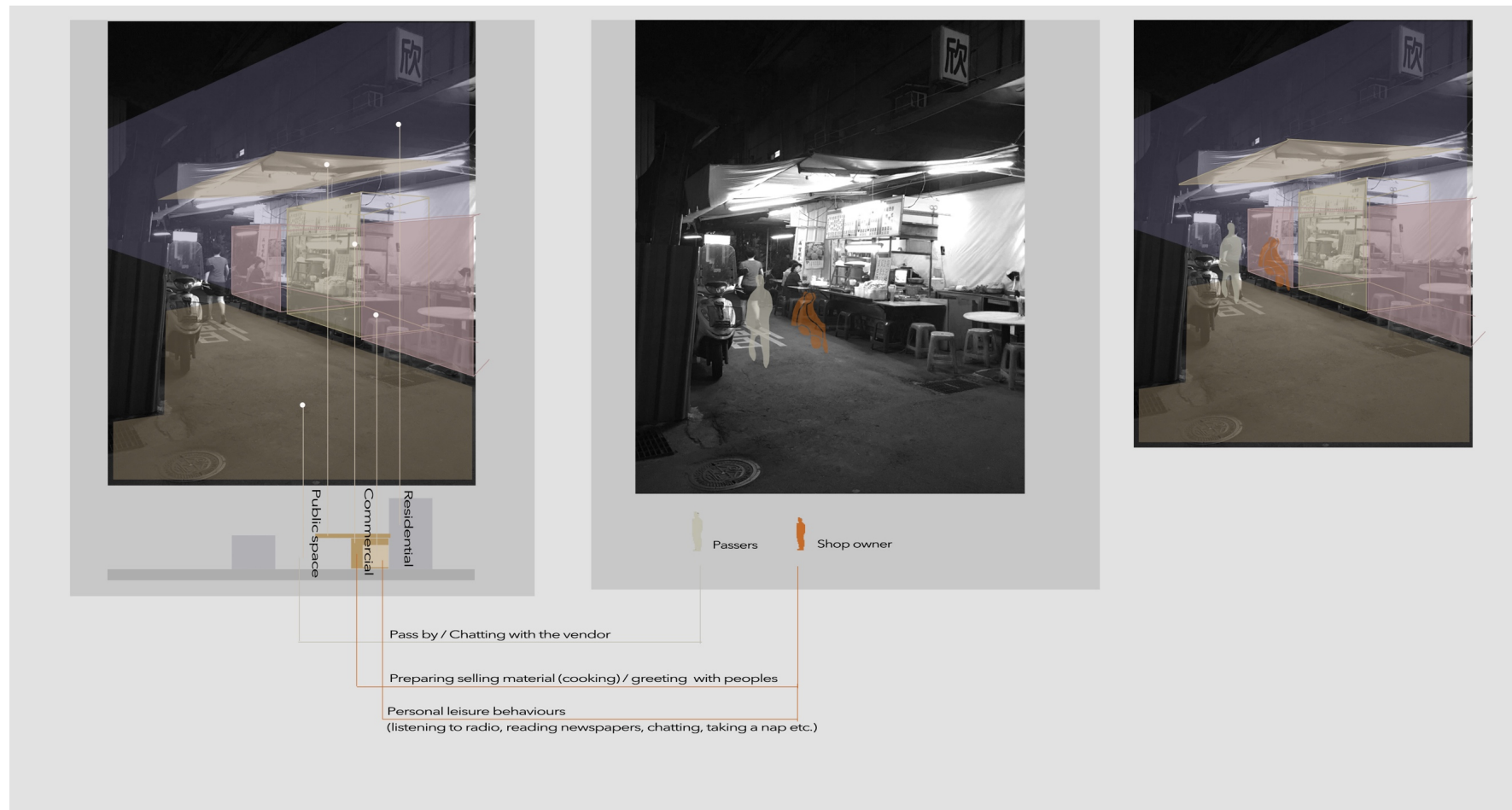


Figure 101. Analysis of photo B, Figure 100.

This CBL shows how the commercial space links to and integrates into local life. A female vendor is going to chat to the female resident passing by; the male vendor watches television. This shows the indistinct boundary of commercial and residential spaces, and also the interweaving of commercial and daily leisure behaviours that is formed by the vendors.



Figure 102. These two cultural behaviour landscapes show the indistinct boundaries of private and public behaviour and space. These images all show that, because of the diverse compositions of CBLs, they can increase the intersections and further interactions of public and private behaviours.



Figure 103. This CBL composition (breakfast store) shows commercial space embedded in residential space.

This space contains a mix of both daily and commercial behaviour of shop-owners and residents. Furthermore, the boundary between private and public is indistinct because of the diverse changing of different behaviours and groups. It also recalls section 5.3 about Ground Space. By possessing it, different elements such as people in a CLC can smoothly develop their daily life within different spaces because the boundary is indistinct, flexible and overlapping (see section 7.4).

These five photos (Figure 100) show another series of similar CBLs composed of mixed of commercial and residential space that mainly host commercial behaviour during this period. However, unlike the photos above, these five CBLs are not commercial spaces independent from residential space. They are part of and link to the residential space. Therefore, they contain not only commercial behaviours, but also multiple daily life (home and leisure) behaviours such as eating in the ground floor shop and hanging up clothes. Also, (commercial) behaviour and the scale of these cultural behaviour landscapes is relatively small compared to those shown above. They usually occupy only one house and one five-foot-way or one corner and extend multiple behaviours into neighbouring spaces.



Figure 104. Cultural behaviour landscapes show that one space contains only one behaviour, personal daily life behaviours (leisure). From left to right, the photos are A, B and C.



Figure 105. Analysis of photo A, Figure105.

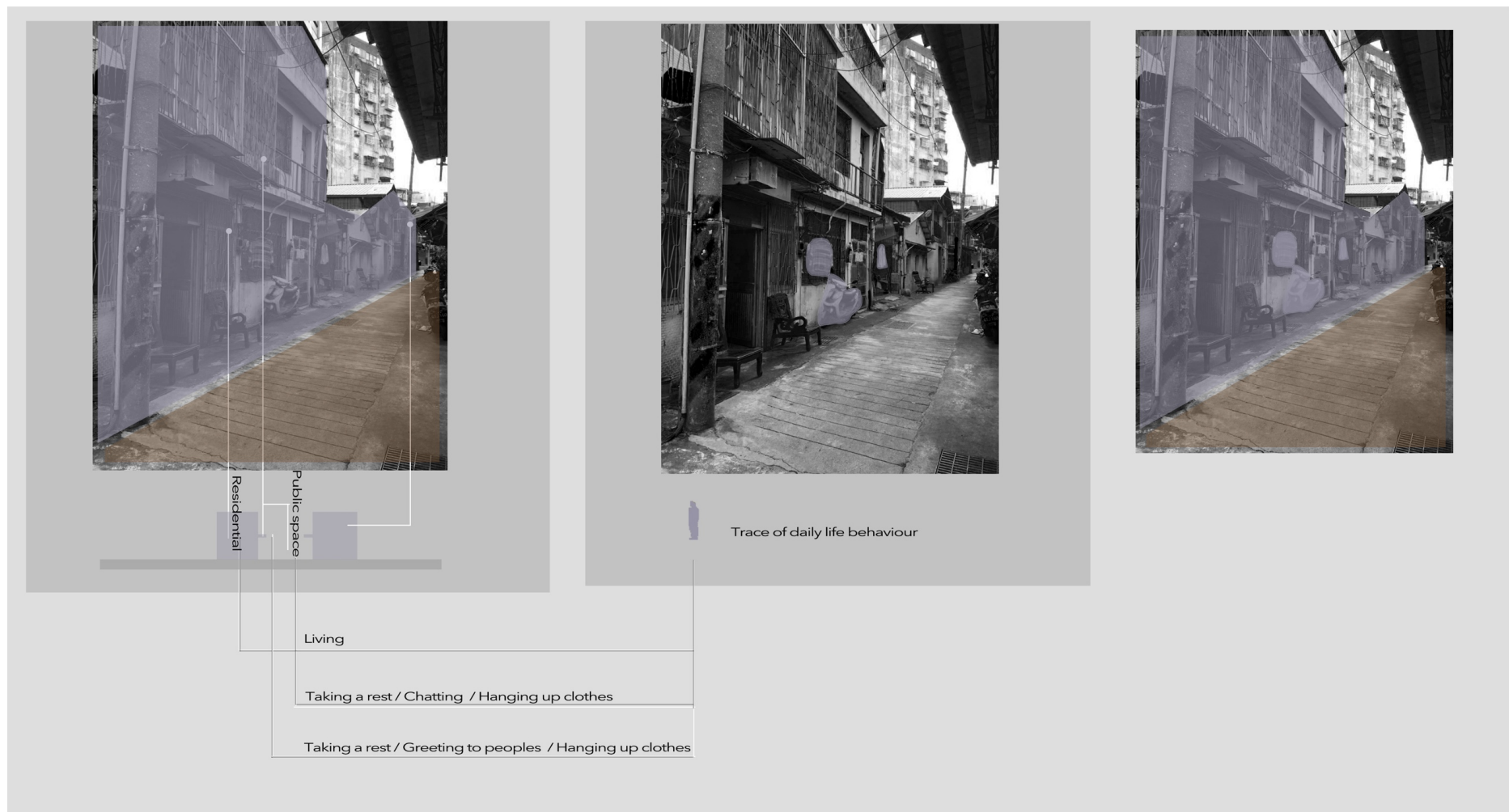


Figure 106. Purely residential cultural behaviour landscape.

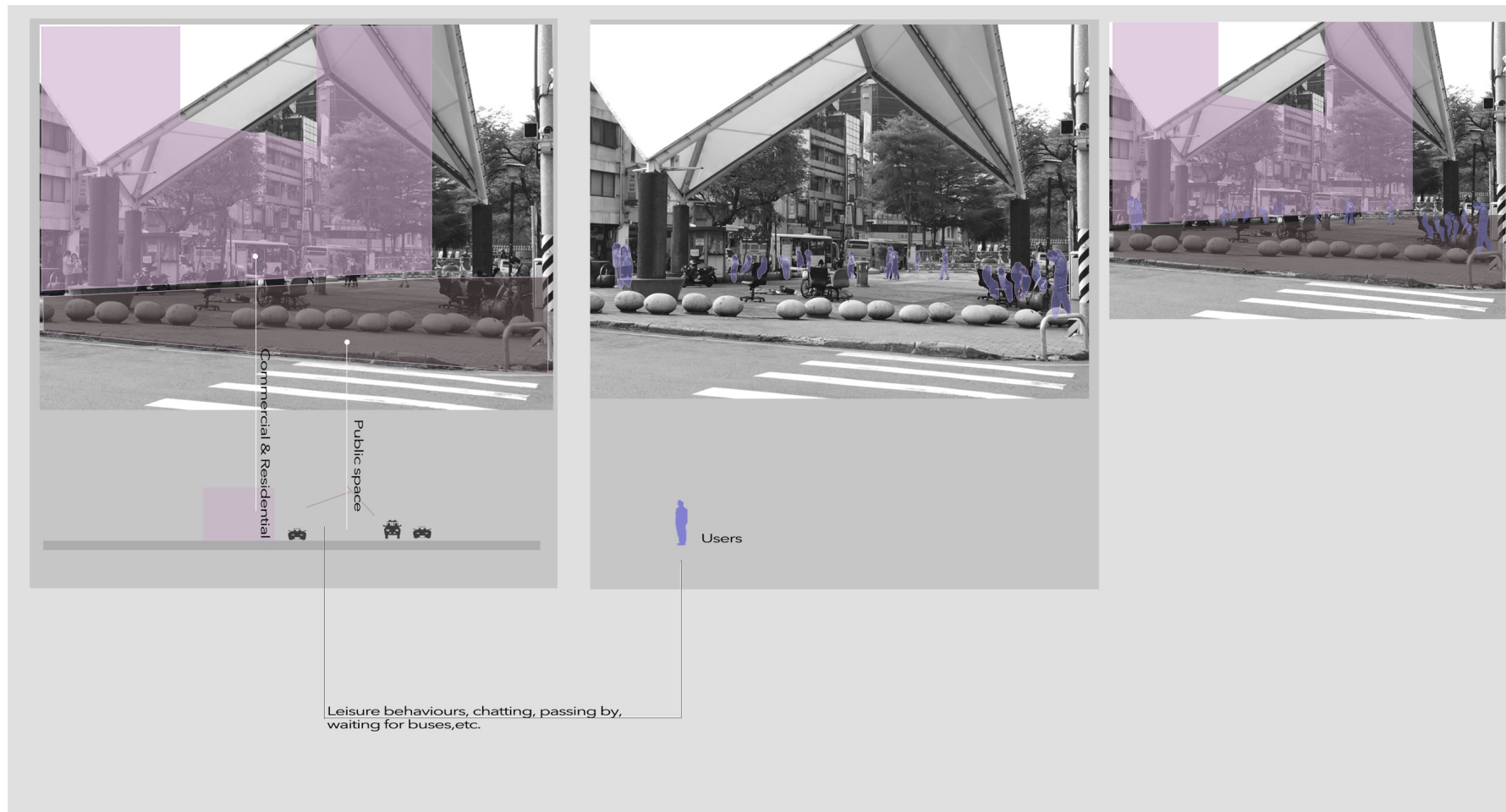


Figure 107. Purely public cultural behaviour landscape.

These three CBLs contain no commercial behaviours, only daily leisure behaviours. This composition is the simplest, containing one space (residential space or public), and one group (residents). They show that because of the pure composition, they create relatively simple and quiet atmospheres.

The cases shown above reflect again that if a CBL links or overlaps with others, it can enhance the influence they create and increase the possibility of further interactions. Regardless of composition, they are all composed of at least one space, behaviour and group. In most of these CBLs, people recognise and feel a sense of liveliness. They are all mixes of commercial and daily leisure behaviours in either commercial spaces or a mix of commercial and residential spaces. Furthermore, two of them are Ground Space (a convenience store and a breakfast store), and the majority of them are part of the Chain Space, such as Photo A in Figure 92 and Photo C in Figure 100.

In conclusion, CBLs will be reconstructed at different times. If just one element is different, the construction of the atmosphere will be different. Also, most of them contain not only one space or behaviour or group, and the more elements they contain, the more living atmospheres they can form. Furthermore, there are hidden factors that exist within cultural behaviour landscapes to allow more interactions. Also, linking and overlap in CBLs helps develop extended behaviours and contains more groups. CBL composition also shows how behaviours define the meaning and boundary of the space and the identification of groups within it. Thus, none can be ignored. When the boundary is more flexible and changeable, the CBL can be

extended to include more elements and interactions, making for a more diverse environment.

Crucially, these examples show how flexible composition within the CLC draws more groups and behaviours to it. Also, those daily life behaviours (hidden features) created and developed by daily life commercial behaviours, support and form the CLC.

Furthermore, as with the daily life rhythm in the CLC, the CBL is recomposed in time to form different atmospheres. This is how each composition reflects a different timeline or moment in the CLC. The next section will discuss how different CBL compositions help involved groups to recognise lifestyles and specific timelines to aid their involvement.

7.3 CBLs Exhibit Specific Timelines of the CLC

In the process of CBL construction, people make contacts and build social networks to increase their recognition of a circuit. It is therefore important to know how people recognise and choose in this way, and how the circuit supports their choices. The following paragraphs discuss how different CBL compositions create different results and enable people to recognise different periods within a CLC.

CBLs present specific timelines in the CLC so that people can recognise their own position and time within it. It makes them feel at ease because they can control and recognise their surrounding environment. For instance, people have specific times and spaces in which to dispose of rubbish and groups acting in similar CBLs can throw away garbage in overlapping times and spaces. Because the jobs held by foreign

labourers are similar (e.g. working in local shops or 24-hour nurses that live with local families), they might act in the same cultural life circuit, therefore, they could throw out garbage at the same time, and can meet each other and have short social interactions.

Because CBLs contain different intersections of groups, they contain extensions of multiple social behaviours. For instance, labourers who work late run into vendors who work around their houses and might buy food from them. Even they do not live in exactly the same circuit, they have one shared CBL so that they will meet. The vendors are a part of the labourers' CBL and vice versa. Thus, if groups involved in a CBL are different, then it will compose a different type of culture behaviour landscapes and so their possible extended activities.



Figure 108. In the morning (around 7 AM), different groups eat together on the corner noodle stand. They are residents, a female office worker on the way to work, and a labourer who has just finished work.

This photograph shows how the CBL encourages interactions and activities between different groups. Within a CLC, individuals or groups can sense time by seeing different CBLs. After I moved into the main Chung CLC, I (the researcher) noticed a series of CBLs appearing in different periods. By knowing the time that each CBL composed, I can know when and who I can integrate with and involve in the circuit. This is a process in which you must employ your senses and build your own CBL by watching others' actions and choices, day after day. For instance, when I left my house, I saw vendors pulling or pushing their stands along the street from the small alley and knew it was around 3:30pm. I knew soon after, I would meet a crowd of students who ran out of school and rushed into convenience stores. If I want to pay bills there, it is better to avoid this time, but if I want to enjoy company or meet my neighbours, it is the best time to visit. This shows what kind of CBL I want to create, who I want to interact with and how this depends on me. By observing the CBL re-composition and understanding its constituent elements, people learn how to be involved and can choose whether to do so or not. It also shows that people navigate through space and time by taking note of behaviours and groups.



Figure 109. Different CBLs display specific timelines of CLCs. Left to right: A grandfather and grandson having lunch after school in a ground-floor shop at about 12:30. A garbage truck shows up at a specific time. Vendors pull their stands into place at about 3:30pm to 4pm. These CBLs illustrate specific timelines and atmospheres of each CLC.

Moreover, by walking down a street, I could see families having dinner in open ground-floor shops, and because of the intimate scale of streets or alleys, I can smell and hear (and perhaps guess) what dishes each family cooked that night. Most of them are simple Taiwanese homely dishes that remind everyone of their home life, which is also the feature of a CLC in which people's memories and experiences are recalled, making people feel safe. Even in the same space, in different groups' visions, the CBL can compose different culture behaviour landscapes. For instance, in one small, traditional snack store, there could be both workers who work at midnight such as night-shift staff, and students and office workers who act in the day times. The former could potentially have been having a night-time snack before going home, while the latter were having breakfast.

Even it happens at the same time, in the same space and with the same behaviour (eating), the CBL exhibits different results (feelings and atmospheres) from different groups' visions. For those working until late, it is the end of their daily routine so they might feel tired and maybe relaxed when entering this CBL. For others it could be the very beginning of a day, and maybe they are eating in a rush. This shows that different compositions of culture behaviour landscapes will suggest different timelines and feelings from different groups' views. It also shows why a cultural behaviour landscape can support and form a living environment: their many variable compositions, groups, behaviours and spaces change to create a single cultural behaviour landscape.

Furthermore, time and groups are essential in building CBLs that support CLCs, atmospheres and the progression of daily life. This is different from Pattern Language that focuses on space and behaviour and the one-way effect. Instead, CBL considers also different effects that are caused by groups and time. It forms a flexible, complete and variable intersection and cooperated network instead of a fixed state. By recomposing their cultural behaviour landscape, people (groups) can choose different spaces that contain different groups and atmospheres they prefer. For instance, some people have dinner in Ground Spaces, such as convenience stores because they like the feeling those spaces create. One interviewee mentioned that "*We like this store where we can have café, magazines and air-conditioning. Multiple choice.....We want to have a meal in a leisurely fashion.*" (Interviewee: 瑛). They like those spaces being open 24 hours: they are always there. Some of them choose traditional snack stores on the ground floors of residential buildings, and most extend their business

behaviours to five-foot-ways. People choose them because they like the feeling of connection and involvement in both shop-owners and other customers' daily lives. One interviewee said *"I feel it is great that I am not eating alone outside. It makes me feel like everyone eats together, I am not lonely"*. Everyone can form and compose their own CBL that provides an atmosphere they like.

CBL composition does not rely only on spaces but behaviours and groups overlapping and interwoven within it. One space can represent different atmospheres for one person. Without behaviour, it is just a space. One interviewee commented on the photos: *"If there are activities, it will be more like the day-time daily life atmosphere [that I like and remembered]."* (Interviewee 蘆) The interviewee chose the photograph that shows a commercial street in the daytime (Figure 111, left) because in her memory, it contains more daily life activities, even though there are more activities being conducted in the night-time photograph (Figure 111, right).



Figure 110. Mixed commercial and residential street. Left: The commercial street (day-time). Right: The commercial street (night-time).

One interviewee mentioned “*I prefer this space, its feeling is nice and it is not disorderly. It contains the feeling of living daily life.*” The interviewee indicated that the condition of a space does not affect her feeling about the CBL.



Figure 111. Different atmospheres in a five-foot-way. The space does not contain behaviour (left); the space contains behaviour (right) The interviewee pointed out that she liked the one with activities (right) and felt that it was more alive.

A space with and without different groups has a different atmosphere. We can take the examples of common Taiwanese eating spaces: the night market and the convenience store. One interviewee (interviewee: Bin, 斌) indicated that “*These two [night markets] have different consumers groups.*” He explained this when I asked why he chose one over another. He expressed clearly that a night market that contains many Chinese tourists cannot be included in groups that can be recognised as part of

his daily life: they just temporary. Conversely, he strongly agreed that the other market, full of Taiwanese people, made him feel the atmosphere of daily life when he ate or walked within it, with them. This is similar to Little India in Singapore (section 1.1) where people only recognise those who have real daily life interactions, both commercial and daily life behaviours, instead of one-time visitors.

Another interview talked about a similar situation: *“I do not want to go to the First Plaza now [she mentioned that place was a major daily life point in her childhood] because there are too many foreign labourers”* (Interviewee: Shu-Ying, 淑瑛). This illustrates again the point discussed in relation to rumours and how the boundaries of a living environment are not only defined geographically but also through (daily life) behaviours. Also, people might choose a particular CBL because it contains different and diverse groups and behaviours that provide multiple environmental atmospheres. For instance, even though a convenience store and a night market can both provide multiple meal choices, people still feel slightly differently about each and within each. One interviewee answered that,

“I feel lonely to eat at a convenience store, that is the place I go when I do not have any other choices.....maybe, both could be “crowded” [normally, a convenience store contains fewer people than a night market], but in a night market, you can see the chef is cooking, you can see the process of how your food is being produced, and you can observe what other customers next to you are doing, that is funny, and living” (Interviewee: Lan, 藍).

These responses show that within a CBL, not only the groups or behaviours affect its atmosphere, but also their diversity and how they cluster and create additional effects on surrounding users; and how overlapping CBLs can form the living environment.



Figure 112. Different groups eating food provided by the same vendor (lower).

With vendors and stores (Figure 113), I found that other customers would give the history of the shop or their opinions of food there. Sometimes we simply greeted each other, but this did not happen even once in a convenience store. Different CBLs

contain different groups' needs: some look for the feeling of involvement and interactions with others, while others prefer more distance but want to feel part of a crowd. People choose and compose the landscape in their daily life from different aspects and for different reasons. Some choose it because of groups and they like the sense of company, or visual contact, and some choose it because of particular behaviours. They might like to see others' interactions or make social contacts with strangers or people they know, showing that people discover and compose their CBLs from diverse elements of a cultural life circuit, and construct the life they want. Within the CLC, everyone's choices and every element is flexible, but inter-related.

Within the CLC, a series of CBLs allow people to recognise different timelines and specific feelings formed by particular compositions. By smelling and hearing people cooking in an alley; seeing people who wait to throw out their rubbish or chat on a street corner; passing students buying breakfast in a five-foot way; or vendors selling from stands, connections and atmospheres in the CBL compose the daily life routine and form the rhythm of the CLC. This shows that a workable CBL succeeds because of behaviour, groups and space, since they are rooted in a particular moment. They offer choices to people: which behaviours they want to engage in, which groups they want to join and in which spaces they want to act. As discussed in section 3.3, people can choose due to diverse elements in the CLC created by the mix of groups, spaces and behaviours. It is a complete adapted and integrated circuit in which people have flexible choices, and diversity in the cultural behaviour landscape is the key.

This section suggests that a living environment is built gradually through daily choices. Also, each composition of a cultural behaviour landscapes is changeable. It is not a fixed area and nor is it a fixed composition. People observe the content of a circuit and others' behaviours; they locate their position, imitate and learn how others work, composing and forming their CBLs for integration into the CLC. The next section will discuss how people observe, decide and become involved in other groups and behaviours through detailed interactions such as visual and physical contact within CBLs. Moreover, it will consider how this contact and these interactions blur boundaries to provide them with flexibility in daily life interactions.

7.4 The Formation of Indistinct Boundaries

This section is going to explore how CBLs support social interactions and the indistinct boundary between public and private, as well as designed and defined space (planning).

Mattias Kärholm indicates that a territory is formed by time and space, instead of only by space (2014) [77]. Moreover, boundaries are formed by the composition of all elements. The diversity of a city is not only about how it might different time-spaces, but also through the creation of time-space. It shows that the effect is formed by the process as well as the result. The more diverse compositions of elements of CBL, the more flexible a boundary can form, and create more opportunity for people to redefine space, to overturn the original use and to enact further social behaviours. The most important thing is to form and support the existence of mixed conditions. Mixed conditions are not only formed by spaces, groups and behaviours but by interaction

between all elements. Within their composition and interactions, the boundaries will be defined repeatedly and accordingly affect their further social interactions and building of networks. Through time, the rhythm and boundaries of spaces and behaviours change and are redefined within the CLC. Hence, the more frequently the CBL changes, the more boundaries are softened, and interactions are increased.

Meeting places for the public are the first element in constructing the structure of a society. Most social interactions are made and enacted within public spaces. The normal definition of a public space is to produce and act between the interface of the dwelling and its outside. The boundary of the former is dominated by the inhabitant, and the latter is for others, the unknown, and sometimes it contains mixed behaviours of both. Thus the relation of inhabitants and outsiders is defined and affected by the type and function of the surface and the boundary it forms. However, this research shows that social interaction and network building mainly happen within daily life spaces that are not designed for particular behaviours. Those social behaviours are usually enacted within those spaces that are not designed for public social use.

Promoting activities and interactions is not based on strong boundaries between private and public, or inhabitant and outsider, but the moment when they cross boundaries and blur them. This shows that the key point to support potential activities to happen is not the line itself, but those behaviours, groups and their interactions that happen on either side of the line and cross the line.

Different encounters can form and support different social relationship and performance. Furthermore, hierarchical space organisation can contain different

interactions and relations of groups (Hillier and Hanson, 1984[66]). They all show that a flexible and variable boundary can support diverse social interactions and soften the boundary and definition of space to maintain the dynamic and multiple interactions of elements. However, contemporary urban spatial design tends to create a dynamic public space to encourage social interaction, which usually focuses on designing the surface of buildings, with focus on the public spatial design. It considers where the line between public and private should be and how it works, rather than on the relationship between spaces (Hillier and Hanson, 1984[66]), nor does it consider how the inter-related elements such as groups and their behaviours might be formed. The research observation results show that the specific boundary might not bring and create more interactions. Instead, an indistinct boundary can support mixing and overlapping groups and behaviours within CBLs to create further social interactions. Thus the living environment is not only enhanced by what kind of space it inhabits, or the behaviours expected within it, but its hidden potential. This potential is created by individual moments mixing and overlapping, softening boundaries and furthering interactions of diverse elements.



Figure 113. Even within the same type of space such as a five-foot-way there are different behaviours (commercial, non-commercial or mixed) and groups. Left:

Commercial behaviour: An elderly man sits in the five-foot-way considering which numbers he should buy for the lottery. Middle: Non-commercial behaviour: The mix of cultural behaviour landscape will extend to other spaces, such as residents hanging up clothes outside their windows in the five-foot-way. Right: Mixed behaviour:

Within the five-foot-way, the main behaviour is commercial activities of the café, but after customers are involved it contains non-commercial activities such as chatting with friends and doing business. All those behaviours and groups blur the boundaries of original definition and design of the spaces.

Altman and Chemers suggest privacy is like a door that controls behaviour and interaction on both sides of the door (1984[4]). This control system can affect social interaction, identity and emotions. Only when spaces are defined by significant and limited boundaries can people control the behaviours and other people who will be involved in the space. In this condition, people know each other and form their own domain, like in a neighbourhood. It also shows that a significant boundary can increase the security of people. Current urban design and spatial design tends to create a specific line to divide public and private, commercial and residential, to form a significant boundary (Alexander, 1978[3]; Xu and Yang, 2005). However, the research observation results show that most further intersections or social interactions are created on crossed interfaces. It cannot be certain that an indistinct boundary will decrease people's security, but the undefined boundary and mixed space interactions support the interaction of people's daily life behaviours within the cultural life circuit.

To create the diversity and dynamics of a society, we must consider the relationship of construction and action, both inevitable and accidental. It is about the process of conflict and compromise in daily life (Wu, 2010[158]; Sennett, 1977[132]). It is not created by a fixed condition. The undetermined and open features make those variables daily life behaviour. Only when disorder occurs can people and behaviours cross boundaries, changing other spaces or domains. It reflects theories that if a CLC can support and contain more possibility of interactions that cross the fixed status, the specific line of space and behaviours (groups), then it can create a dynamic living environment. The sporadic shift of CLC and reconstruction of CBL, the moment at which different boundaries were blurred, is exactly the moment that can provide these opportunities to people. In this way, the circuit is modulated.



Figure 114. Different behaviours happen in different spaces. These photos show that there are at least four fundamental compositions of behaviours that happen from private to public spaces. Furthermore, their random compositions support multiple results, and more possible extended interactions. Those compositions might connect and become a series of mixed and cross-space behaviours. The physical and formal boundary still exists, but is blurred. Private and public behaviour mix and diffuse within every space. In those intersections, further behaviours and connections are built. This shows that the more cross-boundary behaviours are enacted, the more the more diverse the environment is.

Michel de Certeau mentions self-fighting in daily life: tactics that affect and combat the strategy, the spaces that were planned by the government and how they are reformed by people (1998 [28]). His suggests that tactics will not be acted away from the power system nor will change the system. People attempt to change spaces in their living environment within the system gradually. However, the research observation results show that there are several tactics that go beyond the original control and planning of the strategy and the power system, such as Figure 37. People cross physical and administrative boundaries to enact their daily life and social connections within different CLCs by recomposed CBLs. Also, they overturn the designed boundary of private or public at any moment in everyday life. Exactly those crossed districts (section 5.2) and crossed boundaries of groups and behaviours provide the possibilities of intersections. This in turn creates new uses for the living environment.

When people in a CLC need to make alterations, they do not need to wait for the entirety of the circuit to respond. They can find a flexible way to accommodate the change. For instance, when people extend their behaviour such as preparing food in the five-foot-way, if vendors need more spaces to act their private behaviour such as taking a nap, they can imperceptibly occupy the edge of a five-foot-way, leading to intersection or interactions. If the boundary of every space was firm and unchangeable, those extended behaviours and further interactions could not happen. The reformation of the CLC's shape and CBL reconstruction are potential ways to create indistinct boundaries. Spaces formed by each separate specific boundary can contain different behaviours and support different groups' needs that might extend and cross two or multiple spaces that have different boundaries. They can also be occupied by different groups and contain diverse behaviours when other people extend their area. For instance, within serial connected spaces such as Chain Space, the ground floor could be both commercial and residential. Its five-foot-way might be a space for personal or commercial behaviour, and the same for the back alley. They allow boundaries and behaviours to overlap during the overlap of CBLs.



Figure 115. The photo shows a moment containing different behaviours and groups all meeting together and extending their behaviour across different boundaries. Left: Three groups enact different behaviours within one space. The vendor in yellow watches people pass by and looks for potential customers; in the middle are the vendors' friends and the clerk playing on smartphones; on either side of the vendor are customers, eating and chatting. In the background, on the edge of a five-foot-way, there are clerks who work in a ground floor shop who are chatting and greeting customers among the passers-by. Different behaviours and groups overlap and blur the boundaries of physical spaces, groups and behaviours. Right: A man in yellow converses with a female clerk wearing an apron. They chat between their house and the shop: a boundary. Meanwhile, a male salesman was explaining something to passers-by involved in his working area, which is a semi-public space.

These photos show that every CBL composition can be occupied by different groups and behaviours; moreover, they can connect and overlap. It results in the possibility of mixed conditions and indistinct boundaries. A cultural behaviour landscape can

flexibly support, and shift (recompose) in time creates the mixed and crossed boundary of both commercial and non-commercial, public and private, and I and others. Similar phenomena that can blur the boundary are found in Ground Space and Chain Space. Their boundaries are crossed and blurred by groups and behaviour. For instance, as discussed earlier, in the convenience store (Ground Space) different groups and behaviour mix, blurring the physical boundaries. This shows that when different groups and behaviours occupy spaces separately, they still have the chance to intersect with each other.

The research observations show that any elements within the CBL can provide a chance for cross-boundary behaviour. The fieldwork diary shows vendors and residents helping each other, and how the boundary is blurred by interaction.

In the afternoon, I walked through a street and saw a young female vendor who pulled her stand out of the ground floor of a house. She parked the stand outside the house on the street and walked into the house again. When she came out, she held a broom and started to sweep the area around the entrance of the house and then extended this into the street. I stood on the street corner and saw a woman walk out of another house with a little girl and they both greeted the vendor. Three minutes passed; she putted the broom inside the house, closed the front door, and pulled her stand along the street towards the living and bright road.

(Field Work Diary, 18th December 2015)



Figure 116. The interactions of a female vendor and locals. Left: The female vendor takes her stand out of ground-floor storage where the door is half-open. Right: After cleaning the street, she pulls the stand along the street. Because she was cleaning, she and others had further intersections within the semi-public space.

This shows blurring of the boundary and crossing the defined line of space. If the young female vendor does not clean the area in front of the house and street, it is hard to say whether she would still impress residents and be able to rent storage for her stand. However, it is sure that if she did not extend her behaviour, she could not have further positive interactions with them. When people can recognise the operational rules in a CLC, they will observe and evaluate which behaviours are appropriate. Groups observe, connect, integrate and become embedded in the circuit to have further cross-boundary behaviour.

Those cross-boundary behaviours also reflect the discussion in Chapter 3 that the boundary of the cultural life circuit will change and shift, and it will modify its shape

to support different daily life needs within it. This is supported by the reconstruction of CBLs that can allow different groups and behaviour to occupy it. It makes the larger circuit flexible to satisfy different needs and contain different behaviours across time. Within those spaces and cross-boundary behaviours are diverse users and opportunities for integration. That is why the Chung cultural life circuit has wider variety than administrative divisions, such as districts or cities. When the entirety is composed of several small pieces, it can preserve flexibility, efficiency and potential.

This also shows that those encounters do not just happen between surface of buildings nor in the public spaces, but cross and flow from and within them, beyond the limitations of designed physical boundaries. There are many CBLs and combinations of CBLs that support groups to support their needs and behaviours. People observe, learn, imitate and jump into the reconstruction of the CLC by integrating and creating the CBL. By contrast, Pattern Language holds that significant, hierarchical boundaries increase the willingness to interact. The truth is if the circuit can create the possibility to contain more behaviours to cross the boundary, then it can finally blur the limitation and overturn the line between public and private. Within those cross-boundary behaviours, people follow the reconstruction of CBL to find activities through which to become involved in the CLC.

7.5 Contact Games and Visual Contact

Within CBLs, diverse daily life behaviours are mixed. People can choose to be a spectator, an experimenter or a participant. The process contains a series of variable contact games and visual contacts to overturn the definition of public and private

space in the Chung cultural life circuit. There are plenty of chances to encounter conflict and contact in everyday life (Sennett, 1977[132]). Those collisions are unavoidable, which makes people rethink and sense the living environment they are involved in. It is exactly this collision within the re-composition of cultural behaviour landscape that provides people with the chances to meet, interact and carry out further activities. Public space now becomes an extension of movement instead of a collection of groups and behaviour. Now these overlapping and collected urban behaviours are undertaken not in public spaces, but scattered (Sennett, 1977[132]). The public and private spaces do not exist as a binary, but in overlapped (multi-layered) and connected ways (Giesecking, Mangold, Katz, Low and Saegert, 2014[46]). Those features can all be seen in the Chung CLC, indicating that within modern urban daily life, there are multiple and overlapping behaviours, whether they are enacted in private or public spaces. The contact game and visual approach are ways to encourage people to cross the boundary. The contact game is the physical approach and interaction between people within space; whereas visual contact discusses what people see in their living environment that might affect their behaviour. These are the points that support people to overturn public and private, to create an overlap between work, home and leisure. A good public space should contain a diversity of groups and behaviours (Giesecking, Mangold, Katz, Low and Saegert, 2014[46]). If people can overturn the definition of public and private of space, then it can increase democratic activity. This means decreasing the boundaries between groups and increasing further interactions.

Within cultural behaviour landscapes, people cross boundaries intentionally or unwittingly. Different groups enact different kinds of behaviours, connecting, overlapping and combining gradually through contact with each other. What attracts people is dynamic and diverse daily life. For instance, different people, no matter locals, customers or vendors, integrate and enact different behaviours around a sandwich vendor. Within it, different groups such as tourists, locals, friends and families interact before, during and after they approach the vendor, and their interactions cross the physical boundary, all mixed together. Similarly, people waiting in a queue in front of a vendor might also create serial social interactions, eye contact, body contact and increasing possibility of communication such as sharing information (the history of the vendor and opinions of the food), enhancing the sense of the living environment. It reflects the sidewalk ballet Jacobs discusses, how within the city there are continuous movements and alternations to form a living environment that looks disordered but is stable and harmonious (2000[70]). Everyone has their own steps, but miraculously interweave together. She argues that exactly this mixed of disorder (difference) creates the dynamic environment. As has been discussed above (sections 3.1, 6.4 and 7.4), the importance of the street ballet cannot be denied. However, this is not the most essential element. Those cross-boundary interactions, the re-composition, play a vital role in forming the dynamic living environment. Within the indistinct boundary, there are several contact games happening in the CLC. For instance, passers-by and customers jostle with each other in a queue. Meanwhile, customers and passers-by might help each other to avoid cars on busy roads; the

vendor prepares food and chats with customers; and customers eat in the five-foot-way, experiencing different contact games with locals and other customers.

Also, when the ground-floor shop-owner extended their commercial activities to the outdoor space such as the road or five-foot-way, they have to know that what kind of cross-boundary behaviour will not break the balance. For instance, if chairs and tables stop passers-by who use the five-foot-way, it might cause discomfort or conflict with customers, passers-by or local residents. This shows shop-owners' experience of finding the balance in an indistinct boundary by observing how customers move and how passers-by affect the interactions of customers. Most contact games in daily life are not really based on physical touch, but are more about striking a balance and testing the extent to which boundaries can be crossed.



Figure 117. In different five-foot-ways, there is a balance and intersection of behaviours and groups when the boundary is blurred.

Between vendors, similar behaviours abound. In one paragraph of my diary, I describe this:

“I saw a vendor asked her child to sit on the chair and do her homework on the back of the stand. The girl was looking around and moved her chair close to, but did not cross, the invisible boundary, the next-door vendor who was using her mobile phone. The girl had a glance at the vendor tentatively; so did her mother. Then the vendor put down her phone and smiled.”

(Field Work Diary, 3rd, March, 2016)

“After I noticed the girls’ behaviour, I paid more attention to these two vendors when I passed by, and I found there is slight change...I noticed that two female vendors move their tables closer and it gives their customers a bigger and more flexible area to use. Accordingly, some of them have further interactions, and so do the vendors of course.”

(Field Work Diary, 10th March 2016)



Figure 118. This shows how daily life behaviours blur the boundaries of customers and the vendor.

All public and private behaviours and groups were mixed together and we cannot distinguish a significant boundary. At first, there is a boundary between vendors that is sometimes visible and sometimes not. After the daily approach the boundary starts to be modified and then blurred. It is like dancing a tango, encouraging people to move back and forth, editing the boundary through their flexibility, behaviours and interactions, and finally integrating them. This also shows that even if behaviours were developed from commercial purposes, contact games still occur in daily life, reflecting section 5.2 about the hidden figures, which means those daily and social behaviours extend from commercial behaviours. Within a CLC, multiple temporalities collide in contact games in daily life. They give people the chance to be involved, escape loneliness and enact cross-boundary behaviours.

This research finds that visual contact can also provide further potential social interaction, and flexible boundaries. Contemporary urban design usually focuses on physical spatial design. Physical spatial design is considered to affect people's mental state, mood, feeling and behaviour (Hiller and Hanson, 1984[66]; Xu and Yang, 2005; Carmona, Heath, Oc and Tiesdell, 2010; Alexander, 1978[3]). These theories analyse and organise an urban area by focusing on spatial (architectural) forms in order to deduce, organise and design possible and expected behaviours. Contemporary urban planning tends to use space to guide and control people's will and behaviour, and to lead them to go to, use and become involved in those designed spaces.

The importance of space in urban development cannot be denied, but we cannot neglect the effect of behaviour (de Certeau, M., L. Giard and P. Mayol, 1998[28]; Lefebvre, 1991[89]). If the urban structure (space) cannot coordinate with contemporary life and social needs, then the life within it might be threatened (Rybczynski, 2010; Giedion, 1941[45]). Life should be the foundation of planning. From the fieldwork, it is clear indeed that the physical space will affect and guide people's behaviours and intention to use spaces. However, behaviours in those spaces also attract and affect people's choices. Space can guide and lead users' routes by design, via visual, physical and mental stimulation, but it cannot lead and create people's interest and reactions before they arrive and become involved in the space, which behaviour can. The majority of potential and further social interaction are led by behaviour or combinations of behaviours and space in a CLC, not space alone. Behaviour in spaces can attract and guide more people to go to the space, to be involved in behaviours and change the space. This was discussed in interview:

I cannot see the chef cook [in a convenience store], but I can, when I was in a street stand or small restaurant [their kitchens are located in the front of the shop] ... [a convenience store] it does not have the feeling of life...however, I can feel it in the space such as a night market. You can see how product be made and you can observe what other customers do. It is interesting. (Lan, 藍)

This shows that spaces contain behaviour and people can see daily life behaviour being enacted. The atmosphere will invite people to join in, reflecting that a place is always in the situation of becoming because of behaviours within it (Pred, 1984[125]). Therefore, we should pay more attention to how space is used and created. Places should connect to the reality of life and combine with time to construct foundational coordination for human life (Cresswell, 2004[26]). Spatial design in urban development usually looks for an equal and universal valid standard so that it usually develops from how space affects the physical body and actions, such as reactions to colour, shape, form and sense of safety of spaces. Those theories enhance the notion that a well-designed space can increase people's willingness to use it and be involved in it. Furthermore, it indicates that space should satisfy and obey human physical and psychological needs and original unconscious intentions (Brunswik 1956[15]; Gibson, 1979[44]). However, it does attend to how existing behaviour will also guide and affect people's choices and might have a greater effect than the space itself. Overall, there is an evident lack of consideration in the field of how behaviours and visual and physical contacts enhance the potential for social behaviour.

Visible stimuli play an important role in affect people's behaviours. Field observations also recorded multisensory effects such as the effects of soundscape, but mainly effects are visual. There are several duties of our life built on face-to-face behaviour (Urry, 2007). Visible stimuli affect and attract people, affecting their decisions and feelings, but also creating further conscious behaviours and involvement, such as following the rules of an area and learning. The discussion turns now to different cases that show how visual contact can bring about different results and effects on human behaviour. Also, we will discuss how they trigger the formation of indistinct boundaries.

There are three factors that attract people to notice their surrounding environment created by visual contact. Firstly, behaviours in space show diverse daily life in the cultural life circuit. Visible daily life satisfies outsiders' curiosity and provide a first contact point to invite outsiders to join in. It provides observers a way to observe rules and also to feel the atmosphere of the CBL. They then decide whether to involve themselves in the space and enact further activities. One interviewee described the daily life compositions she likes:

I like to see daily life shown in a space, such as hanging up clothes, as if they keep the environment tidy and clean. Even they do it [personal behaviour] in the public space, that is fine. I like those spaces and will be willing to approach to those spaces containing these [daily life] behaviours....I can see what my neighbourhood does through the windows when I walk along a small alley.....It is good to have intersection and interaction of life [pass by people house, eat with others etc.], but

will not interfere in each other's life, that is great.

(Zheng, 鄭)

Behaviours involved in observation are a kind of 'peep'. It is a gastronomy of the eye as people do not need to become a participant, just immerse themselves in the scene and then open their minds and eyes (Ferguson, 1994). The basic, brief visible contact in a CLC reveals the possibilities of potential further behaviours. Furthermore, continuous visual contact provides a series of choices of lifestyle and atmosphere.



Figure 119. Different appearances of daily life provide a series of visual contacts and potential following behaviours.

What people do in a cultural behaviour landscape is not just a kind of performance: it is not the forming and representing of identity, nor of shaping the image they want to let others see. People can observe others' behaviours in a CLC. Meanwhile, insiders will also be aware that they will be seen by outsiders, but have an equal chance to observe. It is a two-way effect that can create opportunities for further interactions and sharing a sense of life. It is not directly related to conscious performance; it is a

bidirectional silent communication, the tacit knowing and learning of daily life and surrounding environment. It is an implied action, enacted by the insiders and outsiders. Through visual contact, people can judge what kind of daily life behaviour they want to be involved in. They learn and feel the atmosphere of the CBL from the appearances of others' daily life. In the fieldwork diary, I mention several times that seeing the different behaviours in spaces arouses the feeling to become involved in the CLC, which is most important to the structure as a whole:

I walk along a street. There are some ground-floor stores still open. I saw people enact different personal or family behaviours inside their house, sometimes between the line of inside and outside. I saw a woman a bench with wet hair (it seems she just took a shower) and watching television. From another house, there was a grandmother feeding her granddaughter who sat on a small stool. A couple of steps away from this sweet scene, I looked through another window, a man was listening to the radio, a can of beer placed on the table, and his house door was open. He looked up and stared at me. I kept walking, felt the peace of the street and the isolation as an outsider. Suddenly, those scenes reminded me of my family and life with friends. I remember there is a vendor nearby, I turned the corner and walked towards him.....I saw the light of the mini-stand [the width is about a man's open arms], several people were already there. They sat around under the yellow bulbs just like a brood of chicks. I smiled at the vendor, ordered and then took a seat on the edge of the crowd. I nodded to a stranger who was on the same table. I felt relaxed, comfortable to be involved, and felt I finally part of and close to the life I just saw.

(Field Work Diary, 28th March 2015)

Even in the same or similar spatial form and type, because different behaviours happen within, there are different attractions and implication formed by visual contact. Furthermore, it implies outsiders have the will to participate in the space and groups. It shows that the attraction of existing behaviour affects people's choices and behaviour. Moreover, it reflects the concept of the CBL again, that people recompose their own landscape to become involved in the circuit and satisfy their needs, such as the need to feel part of a crowd.

Another feature of visual contact is learning and imitation. Chapter 7 indicated that when people see a CBL representing a specific time-point, they can recognise their position, feel a specific atmosphere, learn how the CBL works and how they can be involved in it. Visual contact provides an opportunity for observers to learn, just as a contact game does. For instance, from seeing people disposing of rubbish, observers know how to do this appropriately. It is not only the rules for using a space, but also how to integrate in existing and real behaviours. Moreover, it is not only about how to integrate in the behaviour but also how to interact with people who act within it. For example, at the street corner food stand or breakfast store, people learn by visual contact to know how to interact (eat together) and build connections with different groups. All those are partly supported by visual contact.

Visible learning happens everywhere, in personal space and public space, at every moment. Learning is just the first stage. After observing behaviours, if observers have the intention to integrate in the CBL, to participate in the behaviour, they will imitate the behaviour they observe. In a CLC, visual contact with daily life is an important

way to provide people with choices and access to imitate and become involved in it. A casual glance at daily behaviours allows people to feel a sense of living (Allen-Collinson and Hockey, 2010). It is just like a series of windows that affect you mentally when you come into contact with them, not a stage for performance or an audience. It is a societal college for everyone to learn by observing. Within the mutuality of those daily life glances, the observed learn how to be flexible and freely shift roles, and the observer eases into the mixed environment, as discussed in Chapter 4, and then creates their own CBL. That is what a cultural life circuit provides: a bidirectional interaction existing in multidirectional elements within daily life.

The experience of walking is important to understand and integrate into an area (Lefebvre, 1991b; Seamon, 1980). This reflects that visual contact is an important way to observe, learn and become involved in the CLC (the environment). It is a way to recognise the CBL, to stimulate outsiders, to imitate insiders and to extend further behaviours and interactions. To explore this further, transparency is essential to support visual contact to happen and maintain serial behaviours caused by it.

Transparency can allow people to see different behaviours. Furthermore, transparency does not mean totally and completely penetrable vision, but hierarchical (mixed) and bidirectional visual contact. It is composed of mixed different behaviours and spaces and can bring more dynamic and multiple levels of visual contact. It can also decrease the tension felt by observers who view private (personal) behaviours. There are different levels of transparency. Some private behaviours can be seen directly and some less so, but which may satisfy outsiders' curiosity (Virilio, 1997).



Figure 120. Different lives along a street.

Walking along a street, the observer can see different aspects of personal daily life and different compositions of CBLs. This is a mix of private and public behaviours of different groups. In the middle photo, when the owner removes the yellow curtain, people can see his daily life behaviours. This is addressed by one of my diary entries:

I noticed an interesting feeling today. Today I walked along a street that located several stores, and only contained commercial behaviours. Owners sat or stood inside, as anyone passed by, they stared after them until they disappear. I felt that I did not observe those shops and behaviours inside; instead, I felt I was the one spied upon. I had the same feelings yesterday, I walked along an alley with mostly residential houses and a mix of a few small stores. The front door of most of them were closed. I can tell from the shadows reflected on the windows that residents were doing their personal behaviours. Shimmering lights and faint noises filled the alley. When I passed by, I felt we were located in two different worlds. I could not have further contact or interflow. This is different from what I experienced in spaces which

combined dynamic and multiple behaviours that I can see, within those spaces, I could have casual, equal and bidirectional visual contact with people and have chance to choose to further interact or not.

(Field Work Diary, 2nd February 2015)

This paragraph shows that how the observer or observed, can feel more at ease in the context of a mixed and indistinct boundary. It creates visual contact accordingly, allowing more potential social interactions to happen.

Spatial design affects bodily and behavioural habits, and the behaviour attracts people to toward to the space through daily life behaviour and the potential for interaction.

This reflects again that urban development should focus not only on spatial design but also consider the effect of behaviours in space. Moreover, when discussing urban development, we should consider the effect of potential behaviours within spaces.

Within visual and physical contact, blurring boundaries is also a way to lessen the public/private divide, to show how people redefine the space within a CLC. People use different and overlapping daily life behaviours to overturn the designed (defined) space and the relevant top-down strategy. An indistinct boundary is the way to show how people practice their own tactics and enact daily life behaviours to redefine the space and to set and design their own flexible boundaries.

To guide and attract people through spatial design is therefore important and influential, but to guide through behaviour (social contact) is also important. To summarise, different aspects of a CLC affect people's behaviours profoundly. Visual contact and the contact game create different kinds of contacts and also increase the

possibility of further social interactions. In addition, the overlap of visual contact and contact game supports the formation of an indistinct boundary and vice versa. It shows that before conducting urban development, spatial design can draw expected people and behaviours to stay and to act. However, we cannot ignore the effect of users and the attraction of their behaviours to invite more people to become involved. Extending the discussion of how daily life and CBLs form a living environment and increase social interactions, the next section discusses classifications of an area, and the extension and transformation of the concept of the five images of the city when considered through the flexible lens of a CLC, and the relation to the CBL.

7.6 Landmarks and Nodes of Daily Life

As we have established, cultural behaviour landscapes shift like a cultural life circuit, adjusting according to different times. The CLC and CBL are not fixed concepts or compositions. To support a CLC, its elements and their compositions should adjust flexibly. The CBL's operation redefines the meaning of the living area. We will now investigate the foundations of Lynch's five images of the city to develop and reflect on how these out-of-control compositions contain different definitions in a cultural life circuit.

Lynch's design concept and perspective on city observation has affected contemporary urban planning considerably (1960)[98]. Lynch established the concept of the five images of the city: node, landmark, path, district and edge. He indicates that people's recognition of a living environment is built on the construction and recognition of these images (spaces). The five images represent people's recognition

and construction of the environment. It is a reflection of an interior mental map represented in exterior landscapes. His research results show how people recognise and remember their daily life by these five typical images. This shows how daily life behaviour is acted, contained and affected by spaces. The observation results of this research show that indeed how people recognise their living environment is based on and related to these five spatial types that Lynch mentions, which will be deconstructed below. However, this also shows that we should consider elements as an integrated whole. These images represent different definitions in a CLC and practical representations in operation.



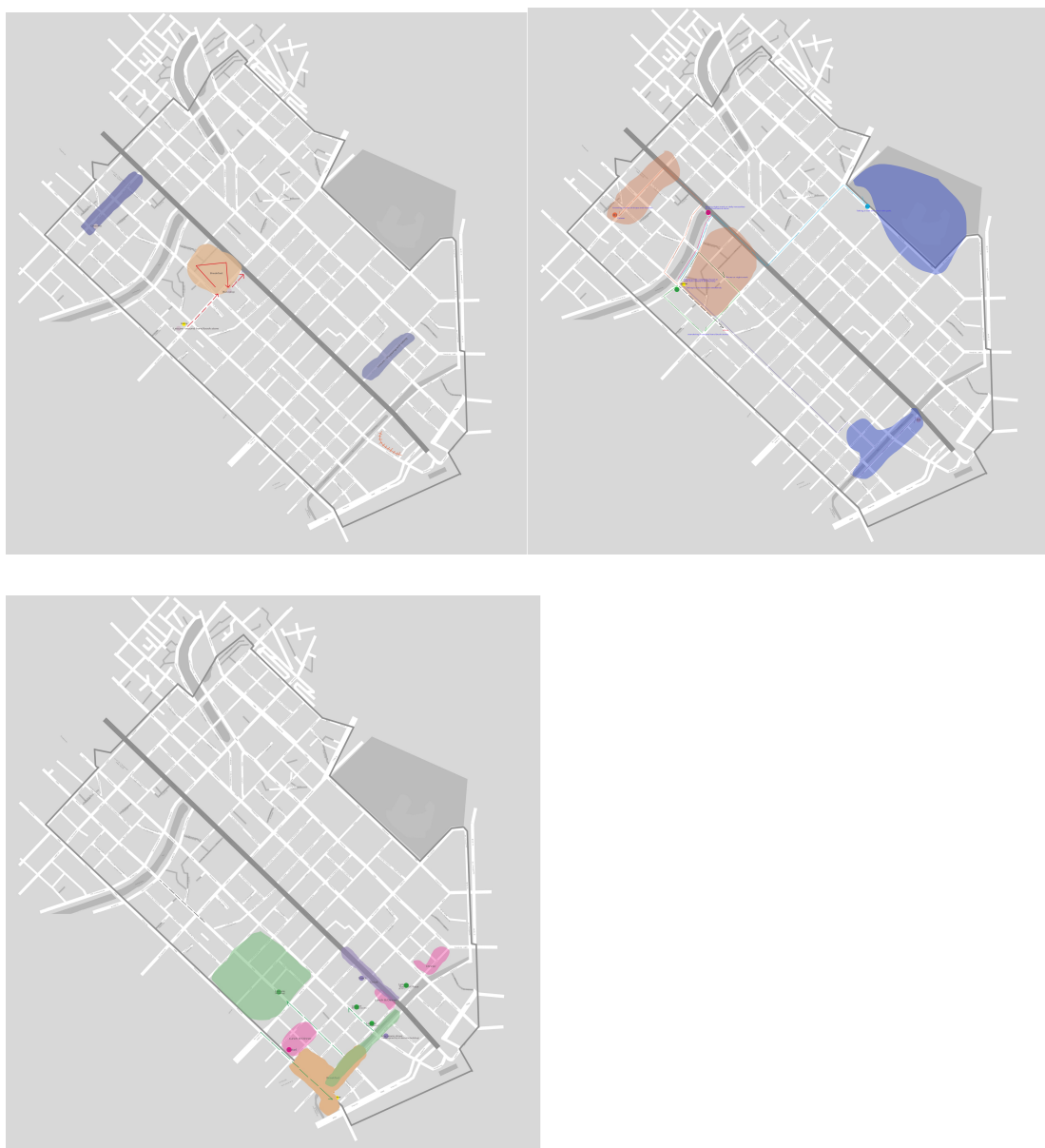


Figure 121. Individual mental map. From upper to lower and left to right these are A, B, C, D and E. The five figures show how five different people recognise their daily life, their cultural life circuit and cultural behaviour landscapes. Purple represents the area or path the interviewees take for their everyday leisure activities; orange – daily life behaviours such as taking breakfast in a traditional market in the morning; pink – daily life behaviours such as taking dinner or chatting with neighbourhood in the afternoon time; green – leisure behaviours that might be undertaken every day.)

The individual mental maps reflect the observation made with reference to Figure 82 that within a main CLC, there are diverse small CLCs cooperating to support people's needs. Within a day, groups, behaviours and spaces all flexibly recompose to support every individual's daily life, including home, working and leisure behaviours. In addition, those individuals' daily life acting areas and nodes are indeed matched to (be part of and located in) the main cultural life circuit; see Figure 31. This shows how every individuals' daily life is linked and supported and how they overlap in the CLC as a whole.

These represent the concept Lynch discusses about how people's lives can be recognised by the five images of the city. However, people do not just recognise and construct their daily life by spaces but also behaviours and groups. For instance, the interviewee in Figure 122 (Photo B) describes her daily life: *"I walk to the Second Market to have breakfast. Then walk to my office.....after work, sometimes I will take a walk in the night market that is nearby my home and area around it as the leisure activity."* The way the interviewees describe their lives highlights that CBLs are not independent compositions of space, behaviour and groups but overlaps of all of these within cultural life circuits. Several interviewees show that when they mention a space that they can recognise, they usually describe not only the space but also people and behaviours they interact with within it. For instance, people will describe not only a noodle vendor on the street corner, but 'the noodle vendor that friends and I often go to together after work; it is located on the street corner near my house'.

Therefore, when discussing the five images of the city in a cultural life circuit, they have different definitions. The next paragraphs will discuss the difference and extended definitions of the five images one by one and compare and discuss how they operate within a CLC. Firstly, according to Lynch, the definition of a district is,

“medium-to-large sections of the city...which the observer mentally enters ‘inside of,’ and which are recognisable as having some common, identifying character...most people structure their city to some extent in this way, with individual differences as to whether paths or districts are the dominant elements” (Lynch, 1960, p.47[98])

This suggests that the district is a complete and certain area that should be recognised by people. What can be recognised here means physical objects. However, this neglects that what people can really remember and use in daily life are those combinations of spaces and behaviours that both happen within it (the district), as discussed in the last sections. Also, urban public space now is not used for diverse activities as in the past; public spaces such as plazas were occupied by different urban behaviours, but now social behaviour does not only happen in the public space (Sennett, 1977 [131]). This reflects what the research found that behaviours take place within all public and private spaces. According to the operation of the CLC, the diffusion of behaviours it is not a negative change, but a positive way to provide for possibilities of mixed public and private behaviours and more interactions.

The original definition of a district is an administrative and physical area (Lynch, 1960[98]). It cannot be separable nor can change following people’s recognition and daily life. The interviews show that in the CLC, the district has two different features

from the original definition of a district. Firstly, the district meaning of a CLC is not fixed. Instead, behaviours will change its shape. Hence, within the CLC everyone's choices and definitions of a district is different. Secondly, people do not recognise and construct their daily life district and will not be affected only by physical spaces (boundaries). Their district is constructed and formed by the boundaries of daily life, as discussed in the section on rumour (section 3.4).

Maps (Figure 122) organised by interviewees' daily lives show that districts composing their daily life are related, small and multiple. They will change and are not fixed, as in the original definition. If we compare a CLC to a district, we can see several similarities parts. They are both a territory (limitation) in which people enact their daily life. However, a CLC is composed of behaviour, groups and spaces. It is also flexible and will change with different people's views and periods. There might be many of these within an individual's daily life, composed of overlapping areas and people move within it rather than in one fixed district.

This modification of district will affect the new definition of the edge. The original definition of an edge is,

“the boundaries between two phases, linear breaks in continuity: shores, railroad cuts, edges of development, walls. Such edges may be barriers, ... which close one region off from another; or they may be seams, lines along which two regions are related and joined together. These ... are for many people important organising features, particularly in the role of holding together generalised area, as in the outline of a city by water or wall” (Lynch, 1960, p.47 [98])

This indicates that people organise and recognise an area by knowing it. The original edge is the boundary of a district and the line that defines the inside and outside.

However, if we consider behaviour and space together, within a CLC the edge should be the boundary and end of daily life behaviour. It is where people do not act their daily life. It is not a natural line or artificial barrier, but where behaviour will not be enacted. As one interviewee notes,

“I do not want to mention and discuss the place [Miyahara ophthalmology, an ice cream shop that was rebuilt from a historical building where was an ophthalmology clinic], because that is the place that I will not go...I do not feel they have any connection to my life.”

(Mr. Xu, 徐)

Different people have different edges formed by their daily behaviours. This is unlike the original definition of edge where everyone in the same district has the same edge formed by a physical boundary. The original edge is built and designed by the power system to form and restrict people's lives. However, the edge in a CLC is developed beyond the restriction of space and formed by daily life behaviours. Also, the cross-CLC behaviours illustrate that the edge is no longer a physical barrier, but where daily behaviours end. As shown in Figure 122, E shows that the interviewee extends her daily life beyond the original definition, the administrative and artificial edge of a district, a main road in the (Chung) district. It also reflects that the edge of a cultural life circuit is a space where people will not go in their daily life instead of just a physically limited area such as a river or main road. For instance, the First Plaza is the area that several locals have removed from their daily life active area, and where the

edge is. The edge might be formed, decided and affected by individuals' different psychological and identification in daily life. It also shows that the edge within a CLC could be modified gradually by different behaviours and group interactions; it is variable and individualised. Those phenomena all show that the edge of a CLC is a self-decided restricted area, rather than an exterior-formed physical boundary that can be designed from the top.

Nodes and landmarks are the points (spaces) that construct and support people's daily life behaviours. Lynch defines nodes as

“points, the strategic spots in a city into which an observer can enter, and which are the intensive foci...They may be primarily junctions, places of a break in transportations, a crossing of convergence of paths, moments of shift from one structure to another. Some of those concentration nodes are the focus and epitome of a district.....stand as a symbol.” (Lynch, 1960, p.47)

Furthermore, he defines a landmark as *“another type of point-reference but the observer does not enter within them, they are external. They are frequently used clues of identity and even of structure.”* (Lynch, 1960, p50) Thus, a node is the point that connects paths and where people transfer and shift to different positions (roles) and environments. (Lynch, 1960[98]), while a landmark represents a symbolic object (unreachable) through which people can recognise their position within a district. However, when it comes to considering them in a CLC, the definitions of node and landmark change. The interviews show that people have nodes and landmarks in their daily life. They are not just spaces, but a memorial that be used to identify positions

and construct the physical environment and a point that can help maintain behaviours and interactions.

The CBL is the node and landmark that contains, links and connects people's daily lives in a CLC. Landmarks in daily life are approachable and important nodes that support people's needs and interactions. For instance, the maps (Figure 122) show that Ground Space such as conveniences stores and breakfast stores play the role of landmarks in a CLC. Most people use and have intersections with them. It is an important node that supports major behaviours and social interactions. Furthermore, the nodes are spaces that people go to and use frequently in daily life, such as the noodle stand on a corner near their house. Those CBLs connect the whole day. Nodes in a CLC are the points that people can use to anchor their identities. Also, landmarks are different depending on who you ask. To summarise, in a CLC, nodes and landmarks are similar. Whether they are important or not is defined by individuals.

Extending from the discussion of node and landmark, it is also noticeable that there are paths between them, which link them together.

“Paths are the channels along which the observer customarily, occasionally, or potentially moves. They may be streets, walkways, transit lines, canals, railroads. For many people, these are the predominant elements in their image. People observe the city while moving through it, and along these paths the other environmental elements are arranged and related.” (Lynch, 1960, p.47)[98]

Thus, a path supports people to move within and between different nodes within a district. Moreover, different elements (node, landmarks etc.) are located and organised along it. Paths in a CLC are channels linking people to different CBLs. However, the section on Mixed spaces (section 6.1) show that spaces such as five-foot-ways and other Chain Spaces are not only nodes, but also a path that people use to enact behaviour or pass through. This indicates that within a CLC, a path could also be a node. This links different nodes and supports further social interactions. People go through it to access other spaces, and also enact behaviours within it and link to other spaces, behaviours and groups through it.

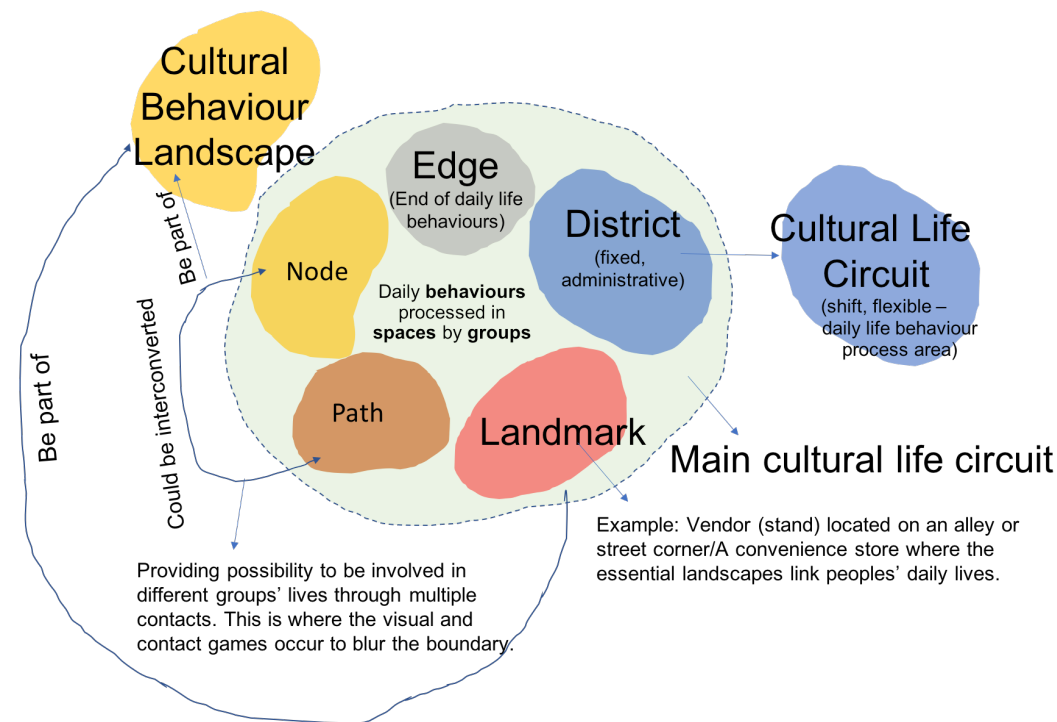


Figure 122. The different and extended definitions of the five images of the city in a cultural life circuit. A path in a cultural life circuit is a path and a line as well as a space containing behaviours and people, so it is represented by a blob here. It shows that the node and landmark can be related to the CBL, and the district can be linked to

the CLC. Furthermore, the path and edge also have developed new definitions under the consideration of the composition of spaces, daily behaviours and groups.

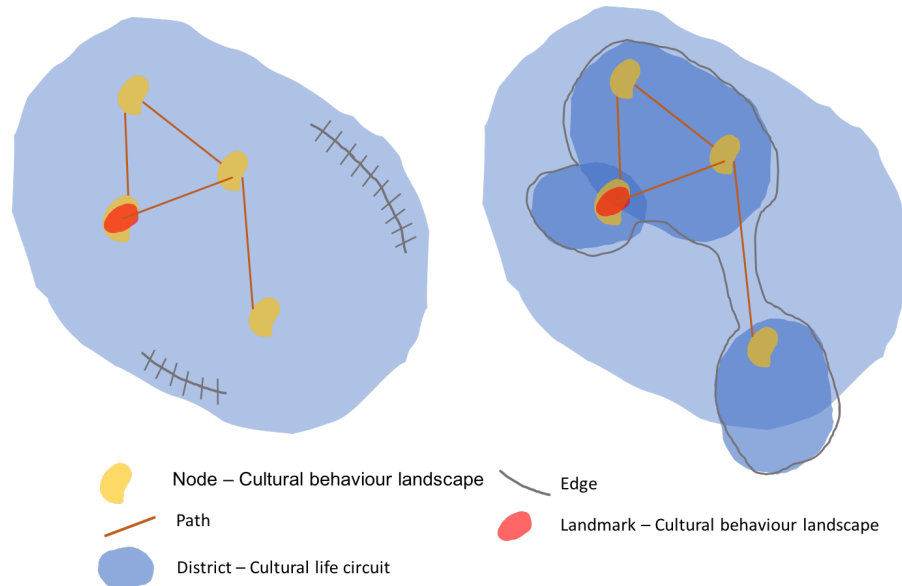


Figure 123. This shows that how the five images of the city (left) look when represented in a cultural life circuit (right).

Thus, within a CLC, all these elements interact within the living environment and are affected by time. None can exist alone. Each of them has different effects within people's lives. The image of the city creates a fine visual environment and also stimulates people to explore their new life (Lynch, 1960 [98]). The new five images of the city in a cultural life circuit do not create an impressive physical environmental, but support daily life needs, operations and social connections.

This chapter has discussed that within a cultural life circuit, people's daily life is supported by diverse cultural behaviour landscapes. We must remember the existence of hidden features, key to supporting daily intersections and social interactions within a CLC. Although it seems on the surface that CBLs are mainly constituted by

commercial behaviours, they are really a mix. This chapter has explored how visual contact and contacts games happen within linking and overlapped CBLs and blur boundaries between designed and defined spaces. Also, it has redeveloped the concept of the five images of the city and discussed how it can be practiced in modern urban design using the concept of the CLC. Overlap in CBLs enhances interactions and solidifies the idea that a stable living environment is formed by mixed conditions.

Conclusion

Initially, this thesis explored contemporary issues and conflicts created by current urban (re)development methods in Asian countries. In pursuit of economic and environmental improvement, they undertake mega-scale and regional hardware redevelopment. However, there have been dramatic changes to daily life caused by the destruction of regional cultural and historical backgrounds. People's sense of recognition of their living spaces, daily life and local interactive networks were interrupted. Those new constructions (spaces) lacked the time and social foundations necessary to build new connections in regional daily life. Eventually, it weakened or even destroyed the vitality of the region, eroding daily life, trust, a sense of belonging and the character of the region. These hasty constructions broke social networks and erased local features, disrupting regional daily life operation. In the hope of fixing these problems, planners rebuilt the same types and forms of spaces to bring back past behaviours and interactions. However, reconstruction did not really recreate those behaviours or connections, but rather showed that the planners still considered the design in terms of space only. This is one-way development from the top-down.

Developing regional (re)development by only spatial redevelopment has substantial limitations. Planners should also consider people and their behaviours within a region. Related to this issue, some factions indicate that the planners should also redevelop and plan from the bottom-up. This would encourage people to rebuild their interactions and connections by enacting common behaviours with specific groups. This idea comes from the concept of community, which supports people to enact

common behaviours during the same period, developing from the community. People indeed can increase interactions within specific groups, but its scale is relatively small (short) and lacks consideration of the whole city. Also, it forms a strong boundary of inside and outside and limits the possibility of flexible change and improvement.

Another issue is a lack of consideration of rhythm. Without rhythm, the living environment cannot create opportunities for different groups to move within spaces and intersect with each other. This shows that within a cooperative area, elements cannot be considered independent. Hence, the interaction of groups, spaces and behaviours cannot be considered separately. Within a CLC, it creates a form of community in which people can recognise themselves, but do not need to fix their roles. They can choose what behaviours they want to join in with and who they want to interact with. A cultural life circuit does indeed develop from a geographical area, but without needing bonded social connections that a neighbourhood relies upon. It provides flexible choices that allow different groups to be involved in the area or not.

Thus, in contemporary Asian urban redevelopment one must find a way to balance development by considering different views. To achieve this aim, the research explored the Chung District of Taichung City, Taiwan. The site contains diverse daily life behaviours and has experienced serial regional transformations and historical events. It contains multiple kinds, forms and scales of spaces so that it can maintain diverse daily life behaviours. Accordingly, it produces many dynamic daily life behaviours and interactions. It also contains several transportation systems and is located in the centre of Taichung City between North and South Taiwan, where

different groups and daily life cultural backgrounds are mixed. This supports different elements to intersect and interact within different spaces and have multiple levels of social connection in this area.

This research uses participant observation, photography and interviews to explore the composition and formation of the site. The methodology reflects the theories that indicate the importance of considering all elements, space, people, daily behaviours and the results of their interactions over time in forming local culture. The researcher can thus become involved in local life and observe how all elements interact and combine to form the whole cultural life circuit, becoming part of it to understand the working and forming of the specific rhythm.

As shown above, current urban development methods are usually developed by professional planners and developed from spatial design, second-hand data collection, knowledge and experience. Sometimes it considers residents' opinions, such as community empowerment programmes that encourage residents to build or rebuild their daily life environment via small-scale constructions and by enacting common activities. However, they all have their limitations and this research attempted to find a way to strike a balance between them. Hence, the methodology followed the shift of situations and viewpoints to discuss different perspectives involved in regional operation to discover compositions and interactions. It began with the view of an outsider, the view of both a professional and a new immigrant who approach a new area through participant observation. It recorded the process of involvement in regional daily life and saw how and where people became involved in the living

environment. Following the development of the research, the researcher's perspective started to transform gradually from a professional perspective to that of a local. Also, the thesis used those records of process and changes to examine and analyse the formation, composition and interaction of daily life from different perspectives, collating photographs, observation diaries and interviews to chart this change.

To find a new way to develop current urban redevelopment, this research also discusses the concept of community, neighbourhood and the culture life circle to establish the concept of the cultural life circuit and how it differs from the definition of those three concepts. Throughout the research, features, operations, compositions and interactions were considered. A neighbourhood promotes daily life and is involved in not only the geographical definition, but also social support. Also, people within the same neighbourhood play out particular and appropriate performances, which is important in supporting its interior interactions. Individuals build up their daily life and set up connections with others in a predictable and fixed way to create further social interactions and receive social support. Community is different from neighbourhood because it is not only limited by specific geographic relationships; it is a recognised group, which has common consensus, activities and targets during a particular period. It emphasises the collective activities and practices of people who share the same identity. In addition, a cultural life circle is the homogeneous cultural spaces of geographical and psychological recognitions of the living environment. It suggests that a cultural life circle should be regarded as one geographical and psychological entity. However, its meaning, composition, scope and how it is practiced was not clear. Furthermore, it is still regarded as a concept extended from

the community and regards the groups within it as a fixed entity that enacts common behaviours to form recognition of the group or space.

To conclude, the thesis reveals the concept of a cultural life circuit. The first feature of a CLC is self-sufficiency. Its production, composition and interactions in terms of space, group, and behaviour can support the system itself and the needs of the unit. The observation results show that in the Chung CLC, its sustainable system contains and supports social needs and daily life needs, and multiple shifts of roles, for people who live or act within it. Within the CLC, the circuit satisfies diverse groups' physical needs through containing diverse elements. Moreover, it supports social life so that people feel they belong and are supported (like in a community), by technologies and transportation systems. They can connect with friends and link with people unconfined by geographical limitations.

The CLC allows people to receive social support from geographically-related nearby groups (neighbourhoods) without social bonds. Furthermore, it found that social life that is created and extended from daily life behaviours supports social interactions within the circuit. Most importantly, within the CLC, people's social and daily lives can be supported. This does not need to be limited by the unavoidable interactions of geographically-related groups to earn others' social and daily life support like a neighbourhood does. Also, they do not need to enact common behaviours with specific groups during fixed times to build recognition like a community does.

This leads us to the second feature of the CLC: people can flexibly shift their roles, since they do not need to be bonded to specific groups or spaces to build social

connections and access support. Furthermore, the research found out that in these conditions, people are free to choose to be involved in social activities or not. This indicates again that within a CLC, people (groups) do not need to enact common behaviours that are recognised by others to receive social support. They still can form social connections and build trust in everyday life. This is different from a community, because the CLC builds trust through daily life intersections, and without the limitation of specific groups of behaviours. It is unlike a traditional neighbourhood where people build their social connections and support through unavoidable interactions and fixed performances (role-playing).

Five features of a cultural life circuit also support its stable operation: interior-circulation, multiformity, inter-support, levelling and redundancy. The concept of interior-circulation means the CLC will both shift flexibly and recompose in time. Moreover, it can maintain basic self-sufficiency through the cooperation of different cultural life circuits. Multiformity emphasises the mixed conditions of the circuit that contains diverse and multiple objects which can support the social and daily life needs of groups. Moreover, it is also the foundation that supports inter-support and redundancy. Inter-support reflects that different CLCs will accompany and associate with each other by linking and overlapping.

Groups are able to continue normal life even when spaces disappear. Levelling represents that different groups can choose to play what roles they want and who they want to interact with. They can get along, intersect together and enact any behaviours they need and want, and simultaneously keep their freedom to choose to be involved

or not. Finally, redundancy supports the cooperation of different circuits formed by mixed conditions. This is supported by multiformity, and the existence of Ground Space. When one space is damaged, people (groups) can find another approximately similar space in which to enact their life and needs (behaviours).

Based on those foundations, the thesis explored the operation of a CLC. Within the main cultural life circuit, there are several small CLCs that will grow or fade out at different times. Accordingly, the shape of the CLC will change. Moreover, they will overlap, cooperate and associate with other circuits to support different needs and behaviours of groups. Its flexible changes were formed following various different compositions of all elements so that it will cross administrative boundaries such as districts. As established, this reflects one of the issues in current Asian urban (re)development: we should not reconstruct the region by recourse to a fixed geographical area, but also groups and behaviours. This confirms again that to form a dynamic living area, a cultural life circuit should consider its inter-related elements and its composition is not fixed.

Following the discussion of the CLC, the research explored more features and what supports its operation, such as Ground Space. People go to those spaces for social and daily purposes. It is more diverse and complex than the Third Space. Also, it is not independent from the home and working space; instead, it is a node to connect them and support the smooth operation of daily life. The Ground Space supports people to enact their social interactions and connections, but provides more possibilities for potential interactions that are developed based on daily life. It reflects the self-

sufficient system of the cultural life circuit in which different social needs can be supported by and extended from daily life. Ground Space makes this possible.

Through the formation and exploration of the concept of cultural life circuit, the research investigated how the interaction of different elements supports its operation. The crucial element is its mixed condition in terms of space, groups and behaviour. It explored the intersections and interactions of all elements and discussed how mixing supports the existence of diverse elements. More importantly, potential intersections are created by those intersections of elements. The research indicated that good spatial design and diverse spaces can bring about potential good social interactions and likewise multiple behaviours can enrich and solidify spaces.

Thus a living environment is not only built and affected by one element, but the co-effect of them. It is about providing the environment of a CLC so that people can play different roles freely, enact different behaviours at any time and interact with multiple people. Those benefits brought about by mixed circumstance also point out that social mixing also requires mixed housing within the CLC. To form a living environment, one must achieve congruence and intersection of every element in the circuit. It is about ensuring that every factor encounters the other to form a social mix, allowing overlap and intersection between different identities.

The concept of mixed housing and social mixing explored another feature that within a cultural life circuit, there are several flexible compositions of three factors: space, behaviour and groups, and their connections. We defined this composition as a Cultural Behaviour landscape. Every CBL recomposes at different times in different

ways to support the operations and interior needs of the cultural life circuit in which they exist. Hence, the composition will shift and recompose, as the cultural life circuit does. This also highlights the importance of time within the structure of the CLC. Different CBL compositions satisfy different groups. Even if one element changes, such as space, it will result in different compositions, uses, atmosphere and further potential interactions. This is one of the essential elements to support the self-sufficiency of the cultural life circuit.

The cultural behaviour landscape contains the same features that link and accompany each other and develop potential interactions. For instance, within a CBL, a space is not only a static space. When behaviours and groups act within and through it, it comes alive and creates opportunities to extend and link to other nearby spaces and behaviours. In addition, it shows that the more cultural behaviour landscapes link or overlap, the more dynamic the cultural life circuit will be. Also, there are more social connections made by hidden elements that extend from the compositions of cultural behaviour landscapes. The research results show that most of those cultural behaviour landscapes are composed of commercial behaviours and spaces but support further social interactions. Furthermore, the research also indicated that the composition of a cultural behaviour landscape is not reproduced at different times, but is reconstructed. In other words, the most important point is the flexible re-composition of CBLs. Daily life behaviours that are created and developed by daily life commercial behaviours are key to support social interactions and form the cultural life circuit.

A CBL will recompose and shift in time so that in the process of construction, people have contacts, build their social networks with others and their recognition of the circuit. The multiple CBL compositions support consubstantial behaviours in the same or different timelines. This causes intersection of groups. Accordingly, it extends multiple social behaviours. Different atmospheres are created from different people's visions of daily life. Hence, people compose these CBLs from different viewpoints and for different reasons. People discover and compose their CBL from existing elements of the CLC, based on their needs and desires.

Within the CLC, a series of CBLs allows people to recognise what time it is and specific feelings that are formed by specific compositions. Furthermore, flexible re-composition of CBLs respond to not only specific timelines, but also different lifestyles. This allows people to choose and construct their daily life and creates possibilities to wander within different CLCs. A workable CBL can succeed because of behaviour and groups as well as space, because these are rooted in particular moments. When elements are broken or changed, people can recompose similar CBLs to continue to undertake their daily life, like the five images that support the construction and continuity of the CLC even if the environment is changed. The research found that the CBL plays a similar role to the five images of the city. Also, people indeed recognise their daily life and living environment by those images.

The district meaning of a CLC is not a fixed one. Instead, people's behaviours will change its shape. Hence, within the CLC everyone's choices and definitions of the area are different. A main CLC is composed of overlapping parts of smaller CLCs.

People move within and around these, rather than in one fixed district. Thus, if we consider behaviour, groups and space to all affect daily life, the definition of a district should be considered a small CLC, composed of space, behaviour and groups instead of defined by as a fixed administrative district. Furthermore, within a CLC the definition of an edge should be the boundary and end of daily life behaviours. The edge in a CLC is developed beyond the restrictions of space and formed by daily behaviours. CLCs will shift during different periods, which shows that the edge of a CLC is a self-determined area, rather than an externally-formed physical boundary.

The nodes and landmarks of a CLC refers to places where daily life is enacted. They contain and connect people's daily lives. Within a CLC, a node and landmark are similar. Whether they are used is defined by individuals' views and the roles they play in daily life. They are both types of cultural behaviour landscape that support people to enact their daily life. Paths in a cultural life circuit also act as channels to link people to different CBLs (nodes and landmarks). Within a CLC, a path could also be a node that is not only a method of transportation but also a space to act and connect behaviours. People use it to access other spaces, but they also enact behaviours within it and use it to link to other spaces, behaviours and groups. No element can exist on its own; they all interact.

To conclude, this research has established the concept of a cultural life circuit. It combines and complement the ideas in current urban development, which consider only one specific perspective, as well as replenishing contemporary planning methods that are either developed from the top or the bottom. It indicates that when

considering stable regional operation, one should consider all elements as an inter-related and integrated whole. They all affected by time and rhythm. In essence, this research has found a new lens through which to look at and develop Asian urban (re)development and provided evidence to support the importance of diversification in a living environment. It has created a conceptual spectrum in which every element can find a suitable position and ways of interacting, to explore a new concept and method that can form the dynamic living environment in Asian urban (re)development.

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Appendix

1. Information and Consent Notice



Information and Consent Sheet **(To be translated into Mandarin)**

The Research of Culture Life Circle and Culture Behaviour Landscape in Chung District, Taichung, Taiwan.

Introduction

This is a participatory action research (PAR) project carried out by a doctoral student of Geography Department, Durham University, UK. Before you make the decision to participate in the research, please read this document in order to understand the nature of this project, and the risks you may encounter.

Purpose:

This research aim is to understand the culture, atmosphere and locals feeling of their environment in Chung district, Taichung city, Taiwan. Furthermore, it will discuss the development process and formation of the regional culture character. You are being invited to take part in this research study because you have the daily life experience, background and unique feeling of living environment of Chung district.

Study Procedures:

This research project will use participatory methods, interviews and photography to explore the issues. If you agree to participate in this research project, and depending on your level of involvement, you will be asked to participate in all or any of the following stages: photographing of your specific activities in spaces, photo elicitation, and one-to-one or focus group interviews.

Voluntariness, Confidentiality and Right to Withdrawal:

Your participation in this project is entirely voluntary and you can withdraw from the study at any time for any reason and you will not be asked to explain your reasons for withdrawing. It is also confidential, which means that at no point during this process will you be asked to reveal your identity. The data will be kept as research analysis. The audiotape data will be kept for secondary analysis, and will be destroyed following such analysis. The finding of this project will be anonymous so that the identity of all participants will not be recognisable.

How to Consent to Participate:

Before agreeing to take part, your rights will be explained and you will be asked to sign agreement below. It asks your permission to record and practice data and information you give in a report and other publications.

* Please contact Miss Pin-Chu CHEN if you have any further questions through the email pin-chu.chen@durham.ac.uk or mobile phone +886921535312

2. Consent Form



Consent Form

(To be translated into Traditional Chinese)

Agreement	Please tick (✓) if you agree
I have read and understand the information shown above and I understand what I will be involved in.	
I know that I am free to withdraw from the study at anytime without giving a reason.	
I agree to allow the interview to be recorded, and data and information I give will be securely kept for future reference.	
I agree the research to use photos that include me, and I understand that I will be anonymized when the data are used in any publication or public presentation.	

Signature : _____

Date _____ :